

Questioning the Principles of Sustainable Tourism

Development:

A Case Study of Cocachimba, Peru

Thesis submitted in accordance with the
requirements of the University of Liverpool
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by
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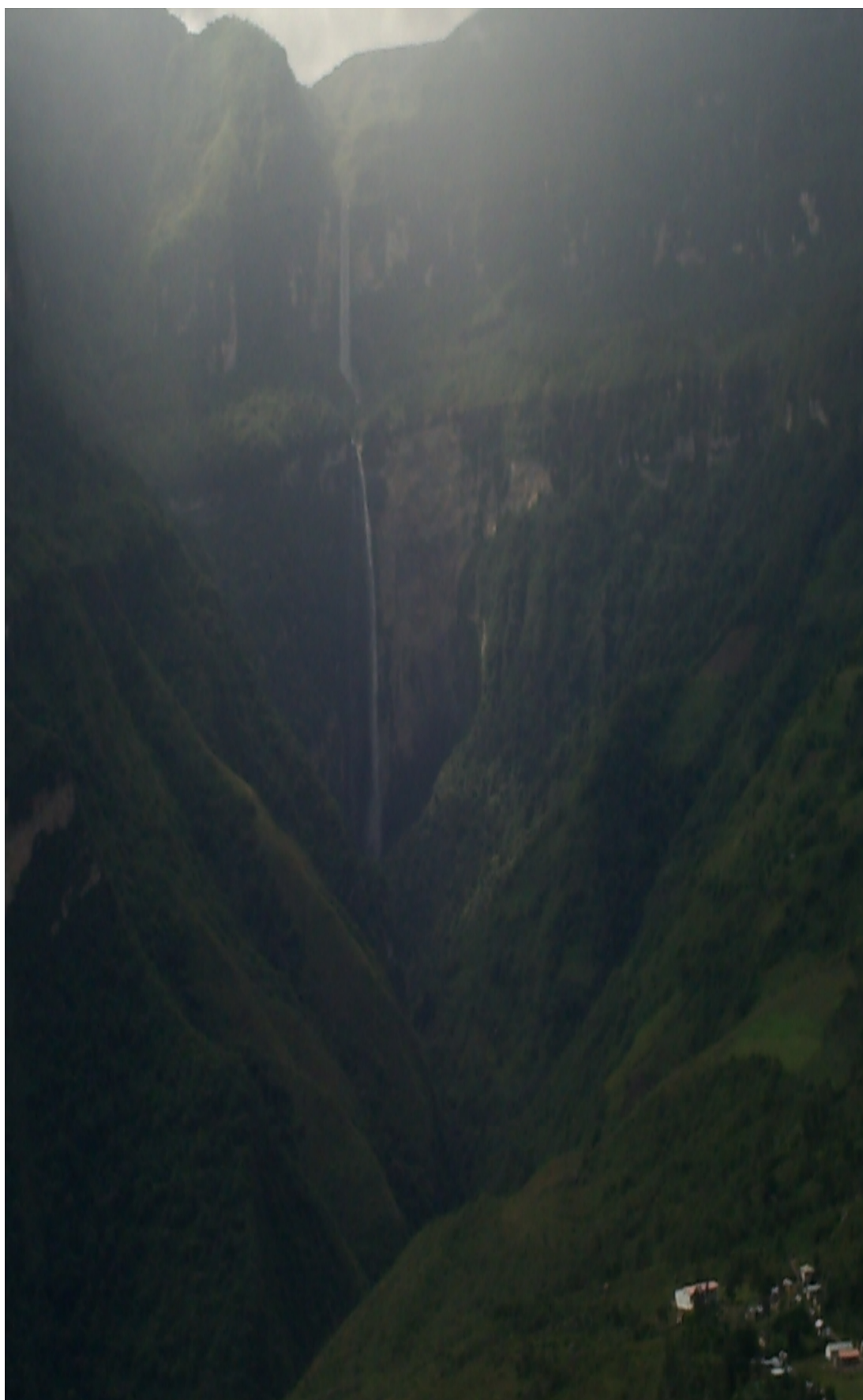
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Abstract

With the emergence of the sustainable development paradigm in the 1980s and the growth of the travel industry it seemed inevitable that the two would coincide at one point or another. Emerging as a reaction to mass tourism and environmental destruction, sustainable tourism development is a combination of two main schools of thought; development theory and environmental sustainability. Once assumed to be a passing fad, two decades on the concept has gained widespread acceptance both within the academic circles and governments. Since the early 1990s, the sustainable tourism paradigm and its practical applicability has become the subject of much debate. Although it is widely acknowledged that sustainable tourism is impractical at macro level, it has long been thought that the principles of sustainable tourism development could be successfully applied at micro level. This thesis aims to contest this statement and demonstrate that small scale sustainable tourism development is just as unattainable. Drawing upon existing literature, it aims to weave together tourism and development theory and examine the links and discrepancies between the principles of sustainable tourism development and the wider framework of sustainable development. In doing so it reveals a number of fundamental weaknesses which undermine the viability of sustainable tourism development.

In addition to examining the discrepancies and contradictions of the concept, the thesis also forms a link between the principles and practices of sustainable tourism development and a destinations area 'life cycle', thereby; providing a framework for its analysis. Using a sustainable tourism development cycle model (STDC), it will show how as a destination area passes through the various stages of tourism development it moves further away from the principles of sustainable development and consequently fails to meet the fundamental principles of sustainable development. Built upon and adapted from Butler's (1980) 'tourism area life cycle' theory, the STDC model questions the sustainability of a tourism destination area and evaluates its progress in implementing the principles of sustainable tourism development as it evolves.

Gocta Waterfall, Cocachimba, Amazonas, Peru



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APECO	Asociación para la Conservación de la Naturaleza
DED	Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung
DICETUR	Dirección Regional de Comercio Exterior y Turismo
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft Für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
INEI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Informática
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MINCETUR	Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PENTUR	Plan Estratégico Nacional de Turismo
PERTUR	Plan Estratégico Regional de Turismo
PROMARTUC	Programme for the Appropriate Management of Tourist Resources with Communal Participation for Income Generation
STDC	Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Model
TALC	Tourism Area Life Cycle
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Travel Organisation
WTO	World Travel Organisation
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

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Chapter 1

Introduction

How are we do explain this whole phenomenon, which mobilizes not only the hopes of millions but also sizeable financial resources, while appearing to recede like the horizon just as you think you are approaching it? (Rist, 2011: 1)

By the end of 1948 American foreign policy was forced to face the major changes taking place in the world following the Second World War. The origins of modern development thought are associated with the post 1945 era when global economic growth and social advancement became viewed as a priority. At the close of the Second World War there was a real concern among political leaders from the industrialised economies of Europe and North America that peace would lead to economic stagnation, high unemployment and an economic crisis equivalent to that of the 1930s. In his inauguration speech in 1949, President Truman proclaimed ‘we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas’ (Rist, 2011: 71).

These circumstances marked the beginning of the modern era of development. As Rist posits, the introduction of the word ‘underdeveloped’ by President Truman in 1949 into the development lexicon ‘evoked not only the idea of change in the direction of a final state but, above all, the possibility of bringing about such change’ (2011: 73). The adoption of this new dichotomy and projection of one trajectory of development radically altered the organisation of North-South relations. No longer was the world split into ‘coloniser/colonised’ but instead was divided between ‘developed/underdeveloped’. Since 1949 development has taken centre stage within the global political-economic context, with the question of underdevelopment at the forefront of the debate. With the gap between the North and the South continuing to grow, there has been a continual search for a means of addressing of this inequality.

Economic and political liberalisation has facilitated the growth of travel and tourism in recent decades. As Sharpley posits, the rapid rise of tourism as ‘an agent of socio-economic growth and development has become more pervasive’ (2009: xvi).

Viewed as a panacea for stimulation economic growth due to its potential contribution to foreign exchange earnings, the promotion of tourism has gained momentum in recent years. Far from being confined to the global South, tourism related development is also being promoted by developed countries as a means of stimulating social and economic regeneration in deprived regions.

Research Objectives

The main focus of this work is centred on the validity of sustainable tourism as a development model. Drawing upon existing literature, it aims to weave together tourism and development theory and examine the links and discrepancies between the principles of sustainable tourism development and the wider framework of sustainable development. In so doing, it reveals that the objectives of sustainable tourism-related development do not fully correspond to its sister paradigm. Although it is widely acknowledged that sustainable tourism is impractical at macro level, it has long been thought that the principles of sustainable tourism development could be successfully applied at micro level. This thesis aims to contest this statement and demonstrate that small scale sustainable tourism development is just as unattainable and that the multifaceted complexities found at both macro and micro level prevent tourism from becoming a successful vehicle for development. Using a sustainable tourism development cycle model (STDC), it will show how as a destination area passes through the various stages of tourism development it moves further away from the principles of sustainable development and consequently fails to meet the fundamental principles of sustainable development. Built upon and adapted from Butler's 'tourism area life cycle' theory (1990), the STDC model questions the sustainability of a tourism destination area and evaluates its progress in implementing the principles of sustainable tourism development as it evolves.

The sustainable development cycle model is split into five stages which correspond to certain stages of a destination's area life cycle, as set out in chapter 3. Using a case study of Cocachimba, this research will demonstrate that during the first and second stages of the cycle, a destination area is more able to adhere closely to the principles of sustainable development. With a small number of visitors to the destination, tourism development is slow and controlled, with few stakeholders and investors from outside the host community and decision-making in the hands of the community. There is a high level of local community involvement, as residents

provided basic services to tourists, offering food, accommodation and guiding services and a good level of coordination between the local community, local authorities, NGOs. Awareness is also raised regarding the protection of the local environment.

It is during the third stage that the destination area begins to move away from the principles of sustainability. The sale of land to investors from outside the community leads to a decline in benefits for local residents who face an increasing amount of competition over the provision of tourist services. At this stage, tourism becomes the dominant economic activity and instead of acting as a means of diversifying the local economy, it starts to displace other more traditional economic activities, such as agriculture. There is also very little coordination between the main stakeholders and capacity building is no longer viewed as a priority by the local and regional governments.

As a destination area approaches the fourth stage, community participation is at a low point. As a consequence of the promotion of international tourism by large hotel and tour companies, money will flow out and profits will stay in the countries of origin. Given their market connections and control over tourism flows, they will have an overwhelmingly competitive advantage over local tourism operators. There is no coordination between the main stakeholders as each pursues its own individual agenda. The rapid construction of hotels in the area and the influx of people will cause degradation of the local environment and possibly lead to disputes between the local community and the tourism sector and resentment against tourists by residents.

By the fifth stage, the degradation of the environment has led to a decrease in the volume of tourism, prompting calls for action by investors and the tourism sector. Decisions are made by the main stakeholders about whether to withdraw or remain in the area. With the local economy dependent on tourism, the decision of these key players will fundamentally affect the local community and further decisions will need to be made regarding its future.

It is not the intention here to propose a new development paradigm but rather to stimulate a debate in the hope that it will lead to ways of developing and promoting tourism that are not necessarily connected to the concept and terminology of sustainable development. It is fair to say that the debate surrounding tourism appears to have come to an abrupt stop at sustainable development. More

environmentally benign forms of tourism which consider the broader framework of development need to be explored.

Background of Study

Since the early 1990s, the sustainable tourism paradigm has taken prominent place in tourism development theory and emerged as a reaction to mass tourism and environmental destruction caused 'by the rapid uncontrolled flood of tourists from the alien industrialised nations into the developing world' (Wheeller, 1991: 91). Once assumed to be a passing fad, two decades on, 'sustainable tourism' has become a phenomenon and is now one of the most over used words. Using a 'bottom up' approach, this discourse promotes the idea of maximising the potential of tourism by devising appropriate strategies in cooperation with all major groups and local communities. With an emphasis on community participation, this development strategy seeks to enhance local involvement while promoting economic, social and cultural well-being. Designed to minimise the negative aspects of tourism, it is a combination of two main schools of thought: development theory and environmental sustainability. This concept has now become for many developing countries a desirable objective, encompassing a set of principles which ideally can carve a path that will sustain future generations.

The evolution and increased knowledge surrounding the paradigm as not only a practical but realistic development model, has led to a questioning of previous assumptions (Wheeller, 1991, 1992, Butler, 1992, Sharpley, 2000, Sharpley and Telfer, 2002). The main assumption held that because sustainable tourism represents an important source of foreign earnings and possesses the potential to contribute to the national balance of payments, it must be beneficial. However, as Wheeler points out, 'the weaker the economy and the greater the need for foreign exchange, then generally the weaker is that country's position in terms of imposing strict controls on the scales and form of tourism development' (1991:91).

Unfortunately, this modernisation rationale remains firmly entrenched despite the evolution of development theory and evidence indicating that economic growth does not necessarily lead to overall progress and well-being (Holden, 2008; Sen, 1999). However, as Redclift posits, 'today economic growth is still recommended in the South, as well as the North, as a way of addressing problems associated with environmental degradation – themselves partly a consequences of the single-minded

pursuit of economic growth' (1988: 51). The reality is that 'development in practice is not just about deciding what courses of action will bring what benefits to which groups; it is about choosing which objectives to pursue at the expense of which others' (Goldsworthy, 1998: 4). This point is often overlooked when incorporating tourism into the development rhetoric.

The promotion of tourism by the global south has led to greater integration into the world economy, making development theory all the more relevant when discussing the potential contribution of tourism. The fact that 'development' has come to encompass more than economic growth alone, makes the task all the more difficult. Contemporary development policies often include measures aimed at enhancing education, health, self-reliance and personal freedom, as well as reducing poverty, inequality and child mortality. By the 1980s these development goals became associated with sustainability, accompanied by a growing consensus that in order to meet the needs of the poor, elements other than economic growth needed to be considered. In recent years there has been a 'recognition that the overall goals of environment and development are not in conflict but indeed the same, namely the improvement of the human quality of life or welfare for present and future generations' (Bartelmus, 1986: 13 - 14 in Barbier, 1987: 101). Acknowledging this, in 2000 the United Nations launched the Millennium Development Goals, setting out eight objectives to be achieved by 2015. These included: (i) the eradication of poverty and hunger; (ii) universal primary education; (iii) gender equality and empowerment of women; (iv) reduction in child mortality; (v) improvement in maternal health; (vi) combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; (vii) environmental sustainability; and (viii) a global partnership for development (www.undp.org/mdg).

It is unrealistic to think that tourism alone can be a solution to the problems faced by less developed countries and that it can be acclaimed as development model without the knowledge and understanding of how the processes of development work. As Sharpley explains 'the achievement of development in any one country may be dependant upon a particular combination of economic, social and political conditions and processes which may or may not be satisfied by tourism' (2002: 2). The fact that economic growth and development have been regarded as synonymous has meant that many important issues have been overlooked, issues which question the alleged contribution of tourism.

Although the concept of sustainable tourism development has gained widespread acceptance both within academic circles and governments, its practical applicability has proved more difficult to achieve (Holden, 2002; Muller, 1994; Northcote and Macbeth 2006). As Matarrita-Casante notes, ‘political and cultural macro-level complexities make the application of development-guided efforts challenging’ (2010: 1143). Nevertheless, despite some authors arguing that sustainable tourism is feasible at the micro level (Butler, 1996), the multifaceted complexities found within this sphere make small-scale sustainable tourism projects just as complicated and unachievable. As Sharpley remarks, ‘the insertion of the word “tourism” between “sustainable” and “development” conveys the impression that, in general, a positive relationship exists between tourism and sustainable development’ (1998: 20). The general acceptance that this is true has led very few (Garrod and Fyall, 1998; Sharpley, 2000; and Lui, 2003) to take a critical approach towards sustainable tourism development and, therefore, no new alternatives have emerged. Unfortunately, sustainable tourism, rather than being the panacea it was once hoped to be, has become little more than an effective marketing ploy. In this regard, Wheeler notes ‘the green light for tourism development shines like a beacon while the actual realities of the situation are conveniently masked over’ (1991: 95). Sustainable tourism has provided a legitimate excuse to open up new areas to tourism and justify, in the name of preserving the environment and cultural heritage, the continued growth and expansion of what is a superficial sector, whilst simultaneously brushing key issues under the carpet.

In recent years, community participation has been hailed as the saviour of sustainable tourism development, being viewed as a more tangible means of implementing development processes and outcomes. However, community participation does not necessarily lead to ‘development’. When examining the role of the community in sustainable tourism development, it is vital to consider the relationship between the individual and the community, whose actions are guided by their own particular interests; this in turn affects outcomes of development goals and processes. In order for tourism development goals to be successful, community-orientated efforts need to be geared towards the overall requirements of the community and not the individual, an issue which is often difficult to overcome. As Matarrita-Casante (2010: 1159) observes, there is need within academic circles to move beyond the romantic views that surround this concept.

Tourism Research

The widespread notion within academic circles that tourism represents an effective means of achieving economic growth and the adoption of this belief by governments throughout the world, has accelerated the study of tourism. As Lea observes, 'there is no other international trading activity which involves such critical interplay among economic, political, environment, and social elements as tourism' (1988: 2). Given the complex nature of the industry, tourism has increasingly become a multifaceted area of research, encompassing a wide range of disciplines, such as history (Baily, 1989; Cannadine, 1980; Pimlott, 1947), sociology (Cohen, 1972 and 1974; Graburn, 1989; MacCannell, 1973; Nash, 1981; Pearce, 1982; Turner and Ash, 1975) and geography (Barbier, 1982; Butler, 1980; Lea, 1988; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Since the 1970s there has been a noticeable increase in the interest surrounding the anthropology of tourism to the extent that in 1983 the *Annals of Tourism Research* dedicating an entire issue to anthropology. Research has primarily been based on (i) the study of the tourist and the nature of tourism (MacCannell, 1976; Nash, 1981; Cohen, 1972 and Graburn, 1983) and (ii) on the social, economic and cultural impact of tourism on host communities and societies (Smith, 1977; de Kadt, 1979 and Boissevain, 1996). As Nash and Smith note, 'the study of tourism in anthropology seems to have sprung from an anthropological concern with culture contact and culture change that has emerged as an important area of inquiry in recent years' (1991: 13). According to Stonza (2001), there are several factors which make tourism relevant to anthropology. Firstly, tourism occurs in most, if not all societies. Places which are off the beaten track tend to be the type of places which most interest anthropologists and increasingly these areas are being opened up to tourism. As a result many anthropologists have witnessed first-hand the changes brought about by tourism during their time in the field. Secondly, the large figures involved in tourism, both in terms of visitor numbers and receipts, has led to tourism being considered as a significant catalyst in both economic development and socio-political change; processes which are central to the interest of anthropologists. Finally, the cross-cultural interactions which are associated with tourism and the face-to-face encounter of people of different cultures 'often cue 'live performances' of some of the broadest theoretical issues in anthropology' (2001: 264).

Although tourism by its very nature tends to stretch across many academic fields of study, researchers have tended to approach tourism research 'from within

the specific boundaries of the main discipline in which they have been trained', with many unwilling 'to reach across disciplinary and methodological boundaries' (Jamal and Echtner, 1997: 868). Mindful of this failing, Jamal and Echtner (1997: 880) argue that when researching tourism five key dimensions need to be considered: (i) holistic integrated research; (ii) interdisciplinary focus; (iii) generation of theory; (iv) theory and methodology clearly explicated; and (v) the use of diverse methodological approaches.

The focus upon certain disciplines and lack of interdisciplinary research has shaped the way in which tourism is studied and created 'barriers for the development of a more holistic understanding of tourism' (Jamal and Echtner, 1997: 871). Whilst an interdisciplinary approach is required in order to synthesise concepts and issues from different disciplines, there needs to be an approach from a central ground (Leiper, 1989: 32). Franklin and Crang argue that tourism research has been undertaken by academics who's 'disciplinary origins do not include the tools necessary to analyse and theorize the complex and cultural social processes that have unfolded' (2001: 5). The work produced consequently depends 'on a relatively small core of 'theorists' whose work has tended to become petrified in standardized explanations, accepted analysis and foundational ideas' (Franklin and Crang, 2001: 5). According to Cohen, tourism research has tended to ignore the socio-political dimensions and instead has focused upon its economic activity, thus excluding relevant issues in the debate surrounding tourism development. The rapidly increasing literature in recent years has concentrated on field studies rather than developing theoretical models. Most studies have been empirical in focus and, therefore, have contributed little to the construction of a theoretical debate, leaving wide gaps in the literature (Cohen, 1995 in Franklin and Crang, 2001: 6).

Travel and Tourism

Tourism has become one of the major social and economic phenomena of recent times. Although tourism first became a social event in its own right during the nineteenth century, it existed for many centuries before, dating back to the time of the Greeks and Romans when it was linked to religion and sport (Sigaux, 1966). During the nineteenth century mass tourism took off. The Grand Tour era of the 1820s and 1830s is viewed as an 'important transition period in the development of a formalised tourism industry' (Towner, 1985: 297). The circuit of Western Europe,

undertaken by the social elite for the purpose of culture, health, education or pleasure, was one of the first extensive tourist movements and helped stimulate the now well established tourist industry in the South of France, Switzerland and parts of Italy. Increases in the amount of leisure activities available and free time for the working class due to the introduction of social legislation during the latter part of the nineteenth century and twentieth century, as well as the expansion of road and railway networks and a rise in living standards played a significant role in the establishment of the Victorian Seaside Resort (Walton, 1981: 249). For the first time, tourism was no longer limited to a privileged minority, as visits to the seaside in areas such as Blackpool and Scarborough became an affordable activity for the growing industrial working and middle classes. Capitalising on the increased speed of transport, Thomas Cook, in 1841, conceived the idea of the package holiday, linking the railway, steamship companies and hotels together, to create what we know today as the 'package deal'. However, it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that the package holiday became an integrated part of the tourism industry. With the rise of consumer society, travel agencies became a regular sight on our high street and tourism a widely practiced social activity (Feifer, 1985).

The end of the Second World War brought a new interest in travel as the conflict not only opened up the world but introduced people to previously less well known countries and continents. Foreign destinations which had previously been viewed as distant places no longer seemed so far away. Advances in aircraft technology during this period radically changed the travel industry. For the first time a viable commercial aviation industry emerged, born out of the surplus aircraft left over from the war. Many of the airfields which had been built during the war were later adapted for civilian use, opening up destinations previously inaccessible or time consuming to reach. With the arrival of the Boeing 707 in 1958 and the Boeing 747 in 1970, commercial air travel was born and for the first time available to the masses (Holloway, 2006: 48 - 52). The advent of low cost airlines such as EasyJet and Ryanair, whose fares are often cheaper than taxes and charges, has seen a drastic increase in the demand for short haul travel in the last decade or so, leading to the development of new destinations and second home and retirement developments. It has also led to changes in the temporal aspects of tourism, with a decline in the importance of the summer holiday along with an increase in shorter multiple holidays throughout the year.

The Growth of Tourism

Over the last six decades tourism has experienced an exponential rate of expansion to become one of the largest and fastest growing economic sectors in the world. As MacCannell explains ‘in the name of tourism, capital and modernised peoples have been deployed to the most remote regions of the world, further than any army was ever sent’ (MacCannell, 1992: 1 in Burns and Holden, 1995: 1). In consequence, today tourism accounts for around six per cent of the world’s exports in goods and services and is ranked fourth in value after fuels, chemicals and automotive products. It is little wonder, then, that an increasing number of countries are investing in tourism when its contribution to economic activity worldwide is estimated at five per cent. International tourist arrivals have shown continued growth, increasing from 25 million in 1950, to 277 million in 1980, 436 million in 1990, 681 million in 2000, 880 million in 2009, 983 million in 2011 and reaching 1,035 million in 2012 (UNWTO, 2013: 2). The World Tourism Organisation predicts that by 2020 international tourist arrivals will reach 1.6 billion, with Europe receiving the largest amount of visitors at an estimated 717 million, followed by Asia with around 397 million and thirdly, the Americas with an estimated 280 million (UNWTO, 2010: 2).

Despite international tourist arrivals reaching 880 million in 2009, the global economic crisis and the A(H1N1) influenza pandemic scare have had an impact on the number of visitors, which declined from 919 million in 2008. Even so, after fourteen months of negative results growth returned in the last quarter of 2009 by two per cent after falling in the previous three quarters by ten per cent, seven per cent and two per cent respectively, representing one of the toughest years for the industry (UNWTO, 2010: 3). In a year marked by persistent economic instability, major political changes in the Middle East and North Africa as a result of the Arab Spring, and the earthquake and tsunami in Japan, international tourist arrivals still grew by 4.6 per cent in 2011 to 995 million, up from 940 million in 2010. However, tourism’s continued vulnerability to world events was evident in a eight per cent decline in tourist arrivals in the Middle East and a nine per cent decline in North Africa in 2011 (UNWTO, 2012: 2). Tourist arrivals in 2012 grew by four per cent and topped the one billion mark for the first time in history reaching 1,035 million. Despite continued economic volatility around the globe, demand for international tourism held up well throughout 2012. Asia and the Pacific recorded the fastest growth with a seven per cent increase in international arrivals or 16 million more

tourists. Africa saw an increase of six per cent, equivalent to three million more tourists, reaching 50 million for the first time ever. The Americas also experienced continued growth with five per cent more arrivals, or an increase of seven million. Europe recorded a three per cent increase, or 18 million more arrivals. The only region which did not succeed in returning growth was the Middle East, down five per cent (UNWTO, 2013: 4).

Table 1 **International Tourist Arrivals (million)**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012
World	436	529	683	807	940	995	1,035
Advanced Economies	297	336	423	459	499	530	551
Emerging Economies	139	193	260	348	441	465	484

Source: Data as collected by the UNWTO (2013: 4)¹

Except for 2009 when receipts fell to US\$852, international tourism receipts have continued to rise, increasing from US\$264 billion in 1995, to US\$941 billion in 2008, US\$927 billion in 2010, US\$ 1,042 billion in 2011 and US\$ 1,075 in 2012, demonstrating a healthy growth rate (UNWTO, 2013: 5). However, the fall in receipts in 2009 demonstrates how susceptible tourism demand is on world economic conditions and levels of disposable income, as well as other external influences, such as disease and war. It is not surprising, therefore, that many governments regard tourism as an integral part of their economic development and diversification strategy, given prospects for job creation, the establishment of enterprises, infrastructural development, as well as increased foreign exchange earnings.

¹ Limited tourism statistics are available prior to the 1990s. The exceptions are international tourist arrivals figures for the world and per region which date back to 1950 and travel and tourism's contribution to GDP which date back to the late 1980s. All information available has been used to provide an overview of international travel and tourism.

Table 2 **International Tourism Receipts (billion)**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
US\$	264	405	478	679	858	941	852	927	1,042	1,075
Euro	207	310	517	545	626	640	611	699	749	837

Source: Data as collected by the UNWTO (2013: 4)

Representing an important source of foreign exchange earnings, tourism's potential contribution to the balance of payments is one of the main reasons why governments have supported the sector. Despite the occasional shock, international tourist arrivals have shown virtually uninterrupted growth, as new destinations emerge alongside the traditional European and North American locations. According to Shaw and Williams (1994: 23, in Sharpley, 1998: 14 - 15) there are three distinctive patterns of tourism flows; these are polarity, regionalism and European domination, defined in the following fashion:

- **Polarity:** International tourism to date is largely dominated by industrialised countries, with tourism flows tending to be between more developed countries or from developed countries to developing countries. According to the two main tourism indicators – international arrivals and receipts – France, United States, China, Spain and Italy were the top five destinations in the world in 2012. From Table 3 it is clear that international tourism remains highly polarised, with economic benefits going to developed and newly developed countries. The top five destinations in 2012 in terms of international tourism receipts were the United States: US\$126.2 billion; Spain: US\$55.9 billion; France: US\$53.7 billion; China: US\$50.0 billion and Macao (China): US\$43.7 billion (UNWTO, 2013: 6).

Table 3 Top Ten Destinations and Tourism Receipts

Rank	Country	International tourist arrivals 2012 (millions)	Rank	Country	International tourist receipts 2012 (US\$ billions)
1	France	83.0	1	USA	126.2
2	USA	67.0	2	Spain	55.9
3	China	57.7	3	France	53.7
4	Spain	57.7	4	China	50.0
5	Italy	46.4	5	Macao (China)	43.7
6	Turkey	35.7	6	Italy	43.0
7	Germany	30.4	7	Germany	38.9
8	UK	29.3	8	UK	35.1
9	Russia	25.7	9	Hong Kong	27.7
10	Malaysia	25.0	10	Australia	31.5

Source: Data collected by UNWTO (August 2013: 6)

Boosted by rising disposable incomes, a relaxation of restrictions on foreign travel and an appreciating currency, Chinese travellers spent a record US\$ 102 billion on international tourism in 2012, up 37 per cent on 2011. Although the highest growth rate in expenditure on travel abroad came from an emerging economy, key traditional source markets also posted encouraging results. Spending from Germany grew by 6 per cent, the United States by 7 per cent, the UK by 4 per cent, Canada by 6 per cent, Australia by 3 per cent and Japan by 2 per cent. The top five spenders in 2012 were China (US\$102.0 billion), Germany (US\$ 83.8 billion), United States (US\$ 83.5 billion), United Kingdom (US\$ 52.3 billion) and Russia (US\$ 42.8 billion).

Table 4 Top Ten Spenders in International Tourism

Rank	Country	International Tourism Expenditure (US\$ billions) 2011	International Tourism Expenditure (US\$ billions) 2012
1	China	72.6	102.0
2	Germany	85.4	83.8
3	USA	78.2	83.5
4	UK	51.0	52.3
5	Russia	32.9	42.8
6	France	44.1	37.2
7	Canada	33.3	35.1
8	Japan	27.2	27.9
9	Australia	26.7	27.6
10	Italy	28.7	26.4

Source: Data collected by UNWTO (August 2013: 13)

- Regionalism: The majority of international tourists come from well-established regions. Europe is the largest source market, generating 52.1 per cent of international arrivals worldwide, followed by Asia and the Pacific at 22.8 per cent and the Americas at 16.6 per cent (UNWTO, 2013: 13).

Table 5 Outbound Tourists per Region (million)

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	Share % 2012
World	436	529	683	807	940	995	1,035	100
Region								
Europe	251.9	303.4	388.8	449.7	497.1	520.5	538.8	52.1
Asia/Pacific	58.7	86.4	114.2	153.2	206.4	225.2	225.2	22.8
Americas	99.3	108.5	130.9	136.5	156.3	164.2	171.5	16.6
Middle East	8.2	9.3	14.1	22.9	34.5	33.8	31.7	3.4
Africa	9.8	11.5	14.9	19.3	25.6	28.1	29.8	3.0
Origin not Specified	7.9	10.3	14.0	25.4	26.5	24.1	25.0	2.4

Source: Data collected by UNWTO (August 2013: 13)

- **European domination:** Europe maintains the largest share of world arrivals. In 2012 the region held 51.6 per cent of the market, with the majority of tourists (18.5 per cent) visiting the Southern/Mediterranean area, followed by Western Europe (16.1 per cent), Central/Eastern Europe (10.8 per cent) and lastly, Northern Europe (6.3 per cent) (UNWTO, 2013: 4). However, by 2020 visitors to Europe are predicted to fall to 46 per cent of the global total (UNWTO, 2010: 11).

Table 6 International Tourist Arrivals per Region (million)

Region	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012
Europe	262.7	305.9	388.0	448.9	485.5	516.4	534.2
Asia/Pacific	55.8	82.0	110.1	153.6	205.1	218.2	233.6
Americas	92.8	109.0	128.9	133.3	150.4	156.0	163.1
Africa	14.8	18.8	26.2	34.8	49.9	49.4	52.4
Middle East	9.6	13.7	24.1	36.3	58.2	54.9	52.0

Source: Data collected by UNWTO (2013: 4)

Although these figures fail to allude to more specific information, such as the type of tourist and net retained earnings after deductions and leakages, their value is to demonstrate trends in tourism flows, growth and receipts in recent decades and provide a broad picture of the potential developmental role that tourism offers countries who participate actively in the industry.

Tourism in Latin America

Latin America offers tourists a wide variety of experiences, from the great monuments left behind by pre-Colombian societies, wildlife rich rainforests, dramatic glaciers, stunning beaches, spectacular waterfalls, as well as a blend of indigenous, European and African cultures which have formed part of this region's complex history. Since the 1950s, the Americas have experienced sustained growth in international tourism arrivals.

Table 7 International Tourism Arrivals for the Americas

Year	World	Americas
1950	25.3	7.5
1960	69.3	16.7
1965	112.9	23.2
1970	165.8	42.3
1975	222.3	50.0
1980	278.1	62.3
1985	320.1	65.1
1990	436	92.8
1995	529	109.0
2000	683	128.1
2005	807	133.3
2010	940	180.4

Source: Data collected by the UNWTO (UNWTO, 2006: 3).

With concerns over security in the Western Hemisphere, tourists have begun to look further south for new travel experiences and with an increased international demand for adventure and nature based tourism, Peru and other Latin American countries have been able to capitalise on this. International tourism receipts for the Americas reached US\$212, 623 billion in 2012, and an increase of six per cent in real terms.

Table 8 International Tourism Receipts for the Americas (US\$ million)

Region	2010	2011	2012
Americas	180,848	197,944	212,623
North America	131,297	144,221	156,355
Caribbean	22,735	23,530	24,536
Central America	6,627	7,110	8,028
South America	20,189	23,084	23,705

Source: Data collected by UNWTO (2013: 10)

Despite the global economic crisis, for the majority of countries in Latin America tourist arrivals continued to increase between 2008 and 2012. Peru, alongside Uruguay, Bolivia, Nicaragua and Paraguay recorded the highest levels of growth during this period with tourist arrivals up 59.2 per cent, 40.2 per cent, 38.2 per cent, 37.5 per cent and 35.2 per cent respectively. However, in contrast, Puerto Rico,

Guatemala, El Salvador and Venezuela reported a decline of 17.4 per cent and 14.5 per cent, 9.3 per cent and 4.6 per cent respectively (UNWTO, 2013: 8).

Table 9 International Tourist Arrivals in Latin America (1000s)

Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Change % 2008 – 2012
Argentina	4,700	4,308	5,325	5,705	5,599	19.1
Bolivia	594	671	807	946	---	59.2
Brazil	5,050	4,802	5,161	5,433	5,677	12.4
Chile	2,699	2,750	2,801	3,137	3,554	31.6
Colombia	2,168	2,303	2,303	2,385	2,175	0.32
Costa Rica	2,089	1,923	2,100	2,196	2,343	12.1
Cuba	2,316	2,405	2,507	2,688	---	16.0
Ecuador	1,005	968	1,047	1,141	1,272	26.5
El Salvador	1,385	1,091	1,150	1,184	1,255	-9.3
Guatemala	1,527	1,392	1,219	1,225	1,305	-14.5
Honduras	899	870	896	931	906	0.8
Mexico	22,637	21,454	23,290	23,403	23,403	3.4
Nicaragua	858	932	1,011	1,060	1,180	37.5
Panama	1,247	1,200	1,324	1,473	1,606	28.8
Paraguay	428	439	465	524	579	35.2
Puerto Rico	3,716	3,551	3,679	3,048	3,069	-17.4
Uruguay	1,921	2,055	2,349	2,857	2,695	40.2
Venezuela	744	615	510	551	710	-4.6

Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Change %
Peru	2,058	2,140	2,229	2,598	2,846	38.2

Source: Adapted from data collected by UNWTO (2013: 10)

Between 1990 and 2012, Peru recorded an increase of 797.8 per cent in tourist arrivals. In 2012 arrivals reached a record 2,846,000 tourists up 248,000 on the previous year, an increase of 10 per cent.

Table 10 **International Tourist Arrivals to Peru (1000s)**

Year	Tourist Arrivals
2012	2,846
2011	2,598
2010	2,229
2009	2,140
2008	2,058
2007	1,812
2006	1,635
2005	1,486
2004	1,277
2000	1,027
1999	944
1998	820
1995	541
1990	317
Change % 1990 – 2012	797.8

Source: Adapted from data collected by UNWTO (UNWTO, 2013: 10; UNWTO, 2008: 8; UNWTO, 2006: 8; UNWTO, 2001: 8)²

Tourism in the Context of the Peruvian Economy

During the last two decades of the twentieth century Peru, like so many other Latin American countries, switched from import substitution industrialisation to a neo-liberal model of economic development. Centred on trade liberalization, financial deregulation, tax reform, and privatisation, the free market reforms adopted by Peru have rapidly integrated the country into the global market. The Peruvian economy has shown periods of high economic growth, in particular between 2006 and 2008. The drastic decline in gross domestic product (GDP) experienced by Peru in 2009 reflected the global financial crisis and the economic demise of the Eurozone and the United States. However, Peru weathered the global financial crisis well and still managed to register growth in 2009, followed by a speedy recovery in the subsequent years. In 2012 the Peruvian economy grew 6.3 per cent, 0.6 per cent lower than the previous year. GDP is predicted to decline further in 2013 and is predicted to be around 5.7 per cent (INEI: 2013). In addition to maintaining economic growth, Peru continues to manage inflation in a credible and efficient way. In 2012 inflation fell

² No earlier figures for international tourism arrivals to Peru were available. All the information available has been used in the table.

by 2.09 per cent, from the 2011 rate of 4.74 per cent to 2.65 per cent (BCRP, 2012: 122). In consequence of the continued strength of its economy, Peru was ranked 61 in the Global Competitiveness Index for the period 2012 – 2013, up 7 places from last year (World Economic Forum, 2012: 14).

Table 11 Peru: Growth in Gross Domestic Product 2000 – 2012

Year	GDP Rate
2000	3.0
2001	0.2
2002	5.0
2003	4.0
2004	5.0
2005	6.8
2006	7.7
2007	8.9
2008	9.8
2009	0.9
2010	8.8
2011	6.9
2012	6.3

Source: Adopted from data collected by Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Informática (INEI), 2013

The implementation of neo-liberal policies has reconfigured Peru's economy an emphasis has been placed on export-led earnings and foreign direct investment. In consequence of these reforms mineral extraction and tourism have become key sectors for future economic growth. As Steel notes, 'tourism and mineral exploitation are two of the economic activities that fit within this neoliberal development rhetoric. Both national governments and international organizations have high expectations of these export industries, considering them an important opportunity to link to international markets and participate in the global economy' (2013: 238). In 2012, travel and tourism's total contribution to Peru's GDP was US\$18,041,000,000, up from US\$15,604,000,000 in 2011.

Table 12 Travel and Tourism Total Contribution to GDP (1988–2012)(US\$bn)

Year	World	Latin America	Peru
1988	1692,590	55,234	1,579
1989	1783,90	79,300	1,770
1990	2010,130	80,037	1,341
1991	2117,980	77,786	1,538
1992	2318,610	79,943	1,559
1993	2344,350	80,257	1,693
1994	2606,910	97,626	2,326
1995	2853,300	122,273	3,077
1996	3027,460	129,161	3,707
1997	3105,010	139,884	4,485
1998	3143,590	137,783	4,255
1999	3263,110	115,876	3,964
2000	3327,900	121,471	4,125
2001	3282,720	115,075	4,261
2002	3300,150	100,752	5,083
2003	3636,120	110,604	5,563
2004	4149,090	134,329	6,626
2005	4477,240	170,100	7,828
2006	4858,350	204,582	8,957
2007	5464,770	236,985	10,622
2008	5919,150	276,774	12,751
2009	5472,570	280,708	12,990
2010	5858,700	320,207	14,342
2011	6492,000	272,650	15,604
2012	6631,010	378,563	18,041

Source: Data collected by WTTC (September 2013)

Although tourism has continued to grow in Peru in the last two decades, with revenues recording an increase of 1042.5 per cent over the period 1988 to 2012, its rate of growth was effected by the Maoist group Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) and its armed insurrection. During the period 1988 to 1992, when Sendero Luminoso was at its height, travel and tourism's contribution to GDP declined by 1.3 per cent. The capture of its leader, Abimael Guzmán, in 1992 was crucial to the recovery of tourism's rate of growth. From 1993 onwards, travel and tourism's contribution to GDP began to increase substantially. Between 1992 and 1997, travel and tourism revenues increased by 165 per cent.

The 1980s had seen an unprecedented expansion and influence of the political left in Peru. Between 1978 and 1980, as civilian rule was being restored, the left

became divided over the issue of political participation. Despite being dismissed by many as detached from reality and highly unlikely to succeed in its efforts to enforce the Chinese experience onto Peru, the insurgency was able to grow to proportions unseen since Peruvian independence in the 1820s. Sendero claimed that Peru remained a semi-feudal country because the old system, with its semi-colonial structure, still prevailed, even though it had undergone major social change and experienced agrarian reform under the military government of Juan Velasco. Therefore, according to Sendero, the peasantry would play a key role in the revolution and violence would be fundamental in the process (Taylor, 2006). The escalation in insurgent activities during this period resulted in many civilians being caught up in the conflict, with regular terrorist assaults throughout the country. These attacks included the bombing of public building and private companies, as well as the assassination of some public figures. By 1991 Sendero was operating in 21 of Peru's 24 departments and tourists were advised not to travel to Peru and if so, to stay in the cities. (Taylor, 1998).

Another event that impacted on the tourism industry was the outbreak of cholera in 1991, which affected around 27,000 people and left 2,540 dead. Although the epidemic was largely contained to the poorer shanty areas of Lima and other coastal cities, and therefore avoidable by tourists, it nonetheless impacted on tourism that year (Bissio, 1995 in O'Hare and Barrett, 1997).

The rise of China as a global industrial nation and the subsequent increase in demand for energy and non-renewable natural resources on the world market has resulted in a primary commodities boom and a wave of large-scale foreign investment in the extraction of minerals (Vatmeyer, 2013: 79). The Peruvian government has embraced natural resource extraction as a development strategy. Mineral exploitation has the potential to contribute significantly to export earnings, attract foreign capital and provide infrastructure and jobs. As Bury notes, 'along with its tremendous physical and biological diversity, Peru has some of the world's richest mineral deposits. Geologically dispersed, both in veins or deposits and in quaternary sedimentation strata, are a host of poly-metallic and non-metallic resources that have fuelled centuries of industry' (2005: 224).

Table 13 Percentage of Gross Domestic Product per Economic Sector
(Real per cent change)

Economic Sector	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Agriculture and livestock	8.4	3.3	7.2	2.3	4.9	4.2	5.1
Agriculture	8.4	2.0	7.4	0.9	5.3	3.2	5.2
Livestock	8.2	5.3	6.0	4.4	4.3	5.6	4.9
Fishing	2.4	6.9	6.3	-7.9	-12.2	31.8	-11.9
Mining and Hydrocarbons	1.4	2.7	7.6	0.6	-0.1	-0.2	2.2
Metallic mining	1.1	1.7	7.3	-1.4	-4.8	-3.2	2.1
Hydrocarbons	5.7	6.5	10.3	16.1	29.5	18.1	2.3
Manufacturing	7.5	10.8	9.1	-7.2	14.1	5.6	1.3
Manufacturing based on raw materials	4.1	0.7	7.6	0.0	-1.6	13.1	-6.5
Non-primary manufacturing	8.5	13.0	8.9	-8.5	17.3	4.3	2.8
Electricity and water	6.9	8.5	7.8	1.2	7.7	7.4	5.2
Construction	14.8	16.6	16.5	6.1	17.4	3.0	15.2
Commerce	11.7	9.7	13.0	-0.4	9.7	8.8	6.7
Other	6.8	8.9	9.8	3.1	7.7	8.1	7.3
Primary	5.0	2.7	7.4	1.0	1.6	4.8	1.7
Non-primary	8.4	10.2	10.3	0.8	10.2	7.2	7.1

Source: Data adapted from the Central Reserve Bank of Peru, (BCRP, 2012: 23; BCRP, 2010 20; BCRP, 2008: 24)³

Since the 1990s, large-scale mining and hydrocarbon operations in Peru have grown significantly. According to the USGS (2013), in 2012 Peru occupied a leading position in the global production of the following mineral commodities: copper (second after Chile), gold (sixth after China, Australia, the United States, Russia, and South Africa), lead (fourth after China, Australia, and the United States), molybdenum (fourth after China, the United States, and Chile), silver (second after Mexico), tin (third after China and Indonesia), and zinc (third after China and Australia). In Latin America, Peru was first in the production of gold, lead, tin, and zinc and second in the production of cadmium, copper, mercury, molybdenum,

³ Data collected by the Central Reserve Bank of Peru dates back to 1996, however, the researcher feels that data presented in Tables 14 is sufficient for this body of work.

phosphate rock, selenium, and silver (USGS, 2013: 6). In 2012 mining and hydrocarbons registered a growth rate of 2.2 per cent, agriculture 5.1 per cent and electricity and water 5.2 per cent.

Although an important source of foreign earnings, the extraction of minerals has become a highly contentious issue. As Taylor notes ‘during recent years, a rapid expansion in large scale mining activity has generated a host of protests in Peru, as rural populations have attempted to defend their livelihood and environment’ (2011: 420). The high demand for natural resources and the subsequent boom in primary commodities has led to heightened concerns among NGOs and community groups about the economic, social and environmental impact of natural resource extractions on local communities. In July 2008 Peru was forced to declare a state of emergency over fears that a tailings dam at a mine in Lima, weakened by seismic activity and subterranean water filtration could release arsenic, lead and cadmium into the main water supply of the capital (Bebbington and Williams, 2008: 191). However, as Veltmeyer notes:

Resource extraction has had a long if controversial role in the history of capitalist development. The interventions of the imperial state in support of extractive capital (the extraction of minerals, metals and other non-renewable natural resources, foreign investments in land and water acquisition (land grabbing and water grabbing) has a long and tortuous history that can be traced all the way back to the mercantile era of capitalist development (2013: 80).

Given the high social, economic and environmental impacts of mineral extraction, tourism has become viewed as more sustainable form of economic development and less controversial, despite having own recognised environmental impacts. The importance of travel and tourism to the Peruvian economy has continued to grow. The direct contribution of Travel and Tourism to GDP was PEN18.0bn (3.4 per cent of GDP) in 2012. This is forecast to rise by 5.7 per cent in 2013 to PEN19.1bn and by 6.2 per cent pa to 3.8 per cent of GDP or PEN34.7bn in 2023 (WTTC, 2013: 3). Furthermore, travel and tourism generated 305,500 jobs directly in 2012, 2.3 per cent of total employment. Employment is also forecast to grow by 2.7 per cent in 2013 to 313,500 or 2.3 per cent of total employment. By 2023 it is predicted to account for 447,000 jobs directly, an increase of 3.6 per cent pa over the next decade.

Table 14 Economic Contribution of Travel and Tourism: Real Prices

PENbn, real 2012 prices	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013 (E)
Direct contribution to GDP (%)	14.4	15.6	16.4	16.3	16.9	18.0	19.1
Total contribution to GDP (%)	38.8	43.0	44.5	44.1	44.6	47.6	50.4
Direct contribution to employment ('000) ⁴	332.0	332.2	354.8	333.3	298.9	305.6	313.7
Total contribution to employment ('000) ⁵	1032.2	1061.5	1119.1	1051.1	960.3	980.1	1006.5
Capital investment (%)	5.8	7.6	6.4	6.4	5.9	6.2	6.6

Source: adopted from data collected by the WTTC (WTTC, 2013: 12)

Although employment figures in tourism are increasing every year, employment figures in Peru's more established economic sectors remain higher. In 2011, agriculture, fishing and mining accounted for 9.6 per cent of employment, manufacturing 12.3 per cent, construction 6.7 per cent, business 22.3 per cent and transport and communication 10.2 per cent (INEI, 2013).

Tourism in Peru

Through the promotion of its pre-Colombian Incan heritage, Peru has embraced cultural tourism and has become a world-class destination for archaeology and history. Silverman makes the interesting argument that 'the discourse of modernity in Peru is phrased in terms of economic development, and international tourism is proclaimed at all levels of society from traditional highland villages to cities as one of the most important catalysts for prosperity' (2002: 883). Tourism provides a

⁴ Direct contribution to employment refers to the number of direct jobs within the travel and tourism industry.

⁵ Total contribution to employment refers to the number of jobs generated directly in the travel and tourism industry plus the indirect and induced contributions.

perfect example of the relationship between the ‘old’ and ‘new’, as Peru pursues its path of development using the close connection with its past to achieve its contemporary goals. These very symbols of Peruvian culture and history have now become prime tourist attractions with the country boasting twelve UNESCO sites⁶.

As a representative from the Vice-Ministry of Tourism commented:

The image that we want to show is that Peru will be a quality destination with cultural identity as the main product, prioritising satisfying demand and the socio-economic development of the country. Tourism is a strategic economic activity that has a high social impact and generates employment. This development will enable the country to be competitive and if it is developed in a sustainable manner it will promote a better quality of life for the population and this will result in progress.⁷

Today Peru offers travellers the opportunity to experience a wealth of human culture, a wide variety of activities and spectacular scenery. Using its current promotional proposal ‘Peru, Live the Legend’, PromPeru have identified eight key mobilisers which they contend encourage people to visit Peru.⁸ These are:

- Ancient civilisations
- The unexplored Amazon Rainforest and its exuberant nature
- The magical Andes
- The mysterious desert and the beaches in the north
- The celebration of life
- Cities to discover
- Gastronomy
- Extreme experiences.

⁶ The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) has named the city of Chan Chan, Chavín archaeological site, the city of Cuzco, city of Arequipa, historical centre of Lima, sacred city of Caral-Supe, Machu Picchu, the Rio Abiseo National Park, Huascarán National Park, Manú National Park, the Lines and Geoglyphs of Nazca, Pampas de Jumana and Island of Taquile on Lake Titicaca, as UNESCO world heritage sites.

⁷ Interview with representative from the Vice-ministry of Tourism, 15 April 2011 – *La imagen que queremos mostrar es que el Perú sea un destino de calidad con identidad cultural del producto principal, priorizando la satisfacción de la demanda y el desarrollo económico-social integral del territorio. El sector turismo es una actividad económica estratégica que tiene alto impacto social y es generadora de empleo. Ese desarrollo va a permitir que el país sea competitivo y que se desarrolle de manera sostenible lo cual va a promover la mejora de la calidad de la vida de la población y esto se traduzca en progreso.*

Unless otherwise stated, all translations from the Spanish are by the author.

⁸ PromPeru - The Commission for the Promotion of Peru for Export and Tourism.

One of the most ecologically diverse countries in the world, Peru, with its three main geographical areas, (the Coastal desert, the Andes and the Amazon basin), offers tourists a wide range of nature, culture and adventure based tourism. Over recent decades a well-established tourism circuit has developed around the southern half of Peru. With most tourists arriving in Lima, the circuit commences from the capital, which retains its colonial architecture. From Lima, tourists head for the heart of the Inca Empire, Cusco, from which, the Sacred Valley of the Incas and the iconic site of Machu Picchu can be easily accessed. Whilst the majority of towns in the Valley feature Inca ruins and agricultural terraces, Pisac offers tourists an experience of a traditional Indian market. The remainder of the southern circuit passes along the coast, through Nazca, famous for its huge, geometric animal-like figures etched into the desert, before heading inland to the colonial city of Arequipa and the Colca Canyon. From here the tourist trail continues on to world's highest lake, Titicaca, to visit the floating Uros islands, as well as the larger islands of Taquile and Amantini; it ends in Puno, with many travellers using the city as an entry point into Bolivia.

In the north of the country, the tourist trail is less established. Known as the North-Eastern circuit, this region boasts some of Peru's best and unspoilt pre-Inca archaeology. Beginning at Trujillo, tourists are attracted to the nearby ruined city of Chan Chan and the sacred pyramids of Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna. Continuing north along the coast towards Chiclayo, the Temple of Sipan and the city of pyramids at Túcume are found. The final leg passes inland towards the mountain town of Cajamarca and continues to Chachapoyas and the ruined citadel of Kuelap, often considered by some to be more impressive than Machu Picchu, as well as the 'newly discovered' waterfall of Gocta. From here, tourists often venture onto Tarapoto and onto Iquitos, to visit the jungle and its wide array of wildlife. Below are the main tourist circles and corridors in Peru:

- Lima – Arequipa – Puno – Cusco
- Chiclayo – Trujillo
- Lima – Arequipa – Cusco – Puno
- Lima – Cusco – Puno
- Lima – Cusco – Puerto Maldonado
- Lima – Cusco – Arequipa
- Lima – Paracas – Nazca – Arequipa – Puno – Cusco

- Lima – Cusco
- Chachapoyas – Tarapoto
- Lima – Arequipa – Cusco – Puno – Lima – Nazca
- Chiclayo – Chachapoyas – Cajamarca
- Tumbes – Piura
- Chachapoyas – Moyobamba – Tarapoto
- Lima – Cusco – Iquitos
- Lima – Puerto Maldonado – Cusco – Puno – Arequipa – Lima – Ica
- Arequipa – Puno
- Lima – Cusco – Lima – Ica
- Puerto Maldonado – Cusco
- Lima – Cusco – Lima – Huaraz
- Lima – Iquitos – Lima

Allocated with the task of marketing and promoting regions and destinations in Peru, PromPeru has classified the market into three categories: priority markets, potential markets and markets to be explored.

Table 15 **Categorisation of the Peruvian Market (2008)**

Classification	Action	Long Haul Market	Latin American Market
Priority Markets	Promotion, links and sales Monitoring of changes Short term results	US, UK, Germany, France, Japan, Canada and Spain	Chile, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Colombia
Potential Markets	Links Education (about Peru) Monitoring of changes Medium term results	Australia, Sweden, Italy and Switzerland	Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia
Markets to be Explored	Research Exploration Education (about Peru) Long term results	China, Holland, Russia, Belgium and Korea	-----

Source: Data collected by PROMPERU (PENTUR, 2008:37)

Within the category of priority markets, PromPeru has identified from the long haul market the US, UK, Germany, France, Japan, Canada and Spain to be explored and

Chile, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Colombia from within the Latin America market. Potential markets include Australia, Sweden, Italy, Switzerland, Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia. Interestingly, under the category of markets to explore, there are no countries from the Latin American market only from Asia and Europe (China, Holland, Russia, Belgium and Korea).

The Institutionalisation of Tourism

With the exception of Cuba, by the 1990s the neo-liberal model was present to varying degrees throughout Latin America and became the continent's predominant economic paradigm. Pioneered by Alberto Fujimori's administration, Peru experienced significant economic, political and social restructuring, where a concerted effort was made to realign the role of the government, state and public institutions. One of the areas to be targeted was the tourism sector, which, under the umbrella of neo-liberal reform, underwent a vigorous reorganisation.

From 1924 until 1963, tourism was largely organised by the Peruvian Touring and Automobile Club. Set up for motoring enthusiasts, the club was established to promote tourism and motoring activities, in particular for its members, in Peru. During this period the state's role in tourism was minimal, merely acting as a means of legitimising the club's authority and providing some subsidies. Prior to the 1960s few attempts were made to institutionalise the tourism sector. The first occurred between 1932 and 1939, when the industry was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Investment and Public Works. A second initiative came in 1946, when the National Tourism Corporation was established and given the responsibility of constructing state hotels, running services for tourists and promoting the country internationally. However, in 1950 after a military coup, responsibility for the tourism industry was given back to the Peruvian Touring and Automobile Club (Desforges, 1997: 83 - 83).

The establishment of the Tourism Corporation of Peru in 1963 coincided with a global boom in tourism and recognition of the sector's development potential as a viable economic strategy. The opening of the international airport Jorge Chávez de Lima in 1965 coincided with declining air prices and marked the beginning of Peru's emergence as a destination for mass tourism. In 1969 the Corporation was transferred from its autonomous position into the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, becoming the General Directorate of Tourism. However, it was only in 1978 that tourism was

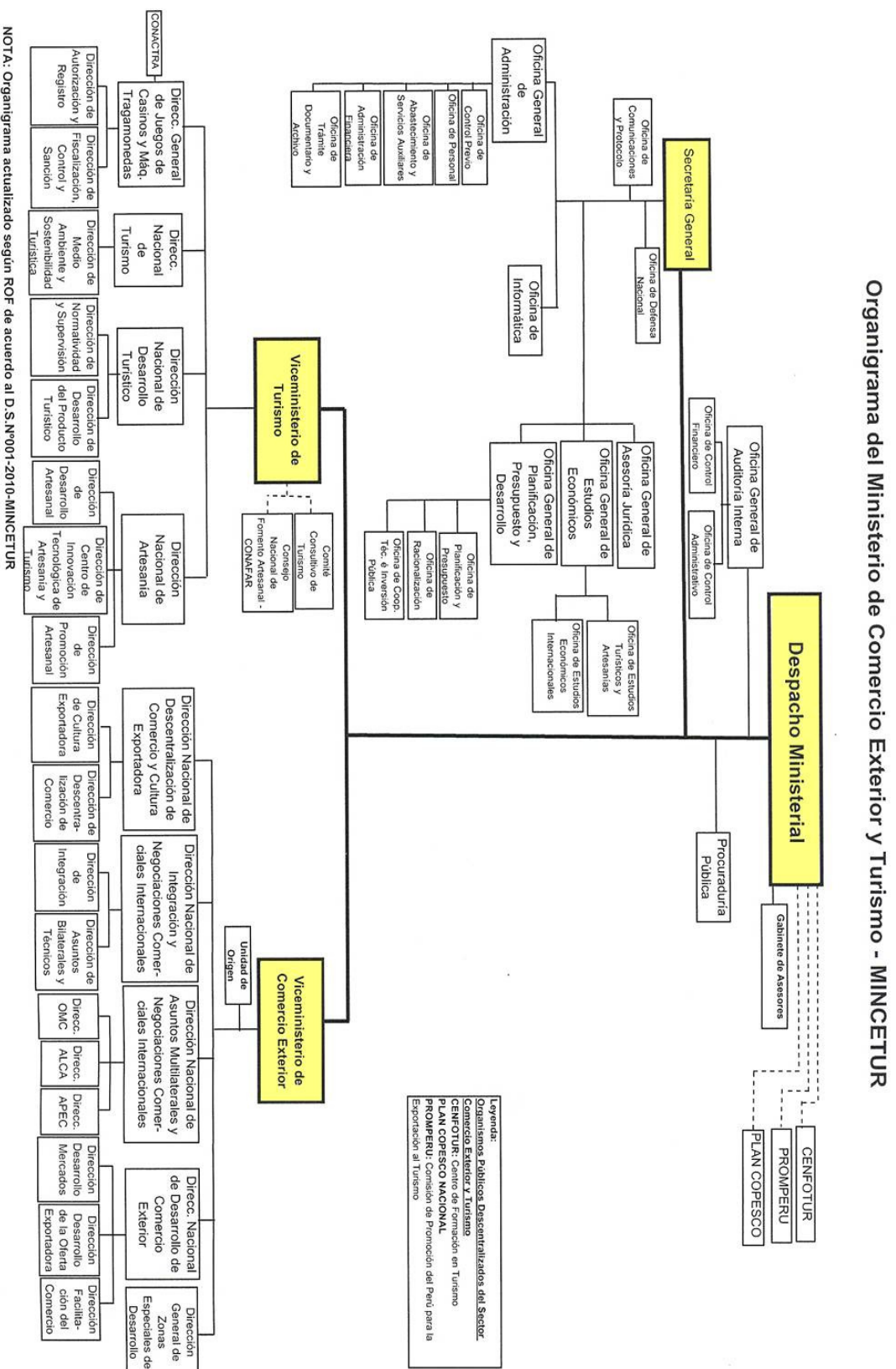
fully recognised at ministerial level, when the Director of Tourism became the Secretary of State for Tourism within the Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Integration. Later in 1981, it became the Vice-Ministry of Tourism within the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, Tourism and Integration, which today is now known as the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism (Desforbes, 1997: 85 - 86).

Figure one shows the structure of MINCETUR. It is split into two vice ministries, the Vice-Ministry of Tourism and the Vice-Ministry of Foreign Trade, which are further divided into departments. The principle role of the Vice-Ministry of Tourism is to elaborate policies and planning relating to the promotion and development of tourism, making it a competitive economic activity, socially inclusive and environmentally responsible, whilst converting tourism into a sustainable development tool for the country. It is also involved in the strengthening of tourism regulation, technical and professional training, the creation of tourist development zones and reserves and the diversification of the sector (MINCETUR). Within the Vice-Ministry of Tourism there are four departments, each responsible for a specific role;

- The national department for tourism development
- The national department of tourism
- The national department for traditional handicrafts
- The national department for casinos

However, independent organisations also exist, that coordinate their own projects and budgets, such as the Commission for the Promotion of Peru for Export and Tourism, which is responsible for the promotion of tourism internationally. More commonly known as PromPeru, the commission coordinates the marketing of tourism and the circulation of all information regarding the tourist product outside Peru.

Figure 1 – Organisational Structure of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism (MINCETUR)
Source: Data Provided by MINCETUR (<http://www.mincetur.gob.pe/institucionales/OTROS/ORGANIGRAMA.htm>).



At regional level, MINCETUR is represented by the Regional Department of Foreign Trade and Tourism (DIRCETUR), which has offices in every department. As part of the decentralisation process, during which power from central government was transferred to regional governments and local councils, DIRCETUR was established to aid regional development by allowing each department to plan and execute their own tourism policies, promote local tourism and strengthen tourism regulation, technical and professional training. This transfer of power has meant that MINCETUR'S role is now concentrated on monitoring the progress of the regional departments, providing training for its personnel when necessary and aiding departments in the planning of a tourism strategy for their particular region.

National Strategic Tourism Plan (PENTUR)⁹

Since 2000, a concerted effort has been made by state institutions to increase collaboration with non-governmental organisations and tourism operators in the promotion and development of new infrastructure and coordination of national activities. In 2008, the National Tourism Strategic Plan was launched by MINCETUR in cooperation with both public governmental agencies and the private sector, setting out the agenda for the next ten years.¹⁰ The vision of the PENTUR plan is to establish Peru as a safe, competitive and reliable destination and position it within the international market as a Latin American leader, offering diversified and sustainable products that advocate the conservation and rational use of its natural, historical and intercultural resources. Its mission is to organise, promote and run a competitive, but sustainable tourism programme, by integrated and decentralised processes, driving economic and social development, generating employment that improves the quality of life for the local population, while guaranteeing the appreciation and conservation of national history, nature and cultural patrimony (PENTUR, 2008: 10).

Through the promotion of sustainable tourism and the responsible use of cultural and natural resources, plan PENTUR aims to implement a model that is socially inclusive and strengthens economic, social, cultural and environmental development within Peru. The inclusion and integration of groups (i.e. indigenous

⁹ PENTUR - Plan Estratégico Nacional de Turismo.

¹⁰ PENTUR was put together with the help of the Ecogoals Consulting Management and was financed by the Anti-American Development Bank.

communities), which have been previously socially excluded or vulnerable, is considered a priority. Through the development of rural tourism and promotion of artisan products, the government hopes to incorporate *campesino* and indigenous communities into the sector (PENTUR, 2008: 12 – 13)¹¹. It also sets out the need to diversify in order to attract more tourists through improving the quality of its attractions, services and facilities. The aim is to encourage ‘good practices, the standardisation of tourist services and the certification of work competence as a means of priority in the development of tourist destinations’ (PENTUR, 2008: 13).¹²

In terms of public management, decentralisation is seen as key to strengthening the sector and the implementation of policies and objectives through the coordination, integration and cooperation of all the distinct government levels (local, regional and national). Also prioritised in the plan is the formation of a ‘tourist culture’, which aims at raising public awareness and creating a positive attitude towards tourism, by incorporating the subject into the education sector whilst strengthening national identity and patrimony.

Macro-destinations

Plan PENTUR divides the country into eight distinctive tourist zones, identifying possible and active tourist circuits and routes.

1. Tumbes and Piura
2. Lambayeque, La Libertad, Cajamarca, Amazonas, San Martín and Loreto
3. Ancash, Huánuco and Ucayali
4. Lima and Callao
5. Pasco and Junín
6. Ica, Ayacucho and Huancavelica
7. Apurímac, Cusco and Madre de Dios
8. Arequipa, Puno, Tacna and Moquegua

The macro-regions of Amazonas, La Libertad and Lambayeque, sited in the north of the country, have been given the highest priority, due to the value given to destinations located in these areas, such the fortress of Kuelap and the Alto

¹¹ *Campesino* is a peasant or person who lives and works in the countryside.

¹² Translated from ‘Las buenas prácticas, la normalización de los servicios turísticos y la certificación de competencias laborales son instrumentos prioritarios en el desarrollo de los destinos turísticos’ (PENTUR, 2008: 13).

Utcumbamba Valley. In the south, Cusco, Puno and Arequipa have been prioritised for further development, while in the centre the Lima provinces (Caral, Pachacámac and Lurín) and the Sierra Central have been pinpointed for special attention.

An Historical Overview of the Research Location: The Chachapoyan Region

Before the formation of the Andean *cordillera*, the South American continent existed but in another form. In what is the Amazon basin there was an internal sea and the cordillera did not exist; the water ran from this area into the Pacific. Therefore, the Amazon that we know now went towards the east, to the Pacific. The Andean *cordillera* was formed some 50 million years later and it blocked the exit of the former Amazon River and so, changed the course of Amazon towards the Atlantic. In fact, here, in this zone, between Loja in Ecuador and Cajamarca, the Amazon River passed on its way to the Pacific and during the formation of the Andean *cordillera* this area remained much lower.¹³

Relatively isolated from the rest of Peru, the Chachapoyan region lies within a remote area of the Eastern Cordillera in the department of Amazonas. Part of the Andean Cordillera, which covers the majority of the western area of South America, this zone is described as the '*ceja de selva*' (jungle's eyebrow) and marks the cultural boundary between Andean highland society and Amazonian lowlanders. This situation has been described by one of the most informed researchers on this region in the following fashion:

The main link corridor between the east and west, up to the coast and vice versa, provided the exchange between the Amazon basin and Andean cordillera; for that reason, something special was developed here. Anthropologists always speak about two macro cultural blocks, two separate worlds and here in the Chacha culture there is a fusion between Amazonian and Andean elements. This is exceptional, as normally there is either Andean or Amazonian culture. What divides these worlds is a strip called the '*ceja de selva*' which is a very steep area with very thin soil layers

¹³ Interview with Dr Peter Lerche, 20 June 2011 - *Antes de la formación de la cordillera Andina, había el continente sudamericano pero tenía otra forma. En lo que es la cuenca amazónica, había un mar interno y la cordillera no existía y las aguas de esta zona de la cuenca amazónica, salían en el mar Pacífico. Entonces el Amazonas que conocemos ahora iba hacia el este, al Pacífico. Entonces se forma la cordillera Andina, en el terciado, 50 millones de años atrás, y se bloquea la salida del anterior río Amazonas. Entonces cambia el curso del río Amazonas y se va al Atlántico. Y por el hecho, que por aquí, en esta zona, entre Loja – Ecuador y Cajamarca y por toda esta zona paso el río Amazonas hacia el Pacífico, y en el proceso de formación de la cordillera Andina, esta parte se quedo más baja.*

and torrential rains. All kind of human intervention in this area can have disastrous consequences for the environment. Thus, there were two macro regions in which the Chacha culture developed and represented the fusion of a very old corridor, a historic exchange. Therefore, there are two worlds present here and this is the bases to understanding why the Chachas are so interesting and important, as they are extraordinary.¹⁴

Occupying the area between the two major north-flowing Amazon tributaries (the Marañón and the Huallaga), the Chachapoya territory was around 25,000 square miles and covered the modern day departments of Amazonas, San Martín and La Libertad (Church, 2006: 471). Described as ‘the Colonial-period threshold to mythical El Dorado’ (Church and Von Hagen, 2008: 903), the Chachapoya territory was the starting point for expeditions to Amazonas during the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Using archaeological evidence, anthropologists have been able to roughly map out the area occupied by this pre-Inca indigenous group. Its western frontier was clearly defined by the Marañón River, with the River Huallaga marking its south easterly boundary. To the north, the limit extended to the flood plain of the Utcubamba River, found in the current province of Bagua and extending to Moyobamba. Its southern border is harder to define, but it is thought to have reached the present boundary between the departments of La Libertad and Huánuco (Church and Von Hagen, 2008: 904).¹⁵ The size and distribution of Chachapoyan settlements suggests that they were ‘a confederacy of *ayllu* (clan groupings) engaged in shifting alliances and internecine conflict rather than components of a persistent monolithic state’ (Muscutt, 1998: 28). Each with their own social and political organisations, the different clans united only in times of war when faced with external threats, such as by the Wari and later the Inca.

¹⁴ Interview with Dr Peter Lerch, 20 June 2011 - *Facilidades para el intercambio entre la cuenca amazónica, la cordillera andina y hasta la costa, entonces esto era el corredor principal de comunicación entre este y oeste y viceversa. Entonces por esa razón aquí se desarrolló algo especial. Los antropólogos conocen, siempre se habla de dos macro bloques culturales, dos mundos aparte y aquí en la cultura chacha hay una fusión entre elementos amazónicos y elementos andinos y esto es excepcional, porque normalmente son andino o amazónicos, y lo que divide estos mundos es una franja que se llama Ceja de Selva y esto es una zona muy empinada, con capas de suelo muy delgados, lluvias torrenciales, toda intervención humana en esta zona puede tener consecuencias desastrosas para el medioambiente. Entonces hay dos macro regiones en donde se desarrollo la cultura chacha, más la fusión por ser un corredor muy muy antiguo, histórico de intercambio, entonces son dos mundos aquí presentes. Esta es la base para entender porque los chachas son interesantes y eran importantes, porque eran fuera de lo común.*

¹⁵ See Appendix One for map of Peru.

Archaeological evidence of Inca outposts throughout the Huallabamba Valley suggests that this area was an important strategic gateway to the Central Andes, with the upper Marañón River valley serving as one of the main arteries for trade and migration. As Church notes, although Chachapoyas appears to be cut off, it is 'remote only to the degree that it is isolated from Peru's national infrastructure' (2006: 475). Instead, Chachapoyas societies occupied one of the most important pre-Hispanic crossroads in South America which served as one of the main routes between the sierra, the coast and jungle, supplying 'a crucial link in long chains of interregional communication and exchange' (Church, 2006: 475). The vast amount of terracing systems found on the eastern slopes indicates that labour organisation and agricultural production were on a large scale thus suggesting that 'the Chachapoya had a long history of local and economic subsistence autonomy predating Inca hegemony' (Church, 2006: 474).

Some 2,335 metres above sea level (masl) in the moist eastern cloud forests, the Chachapoyan region is known for its rich bio-diversity and large variety of endemic birds and orchids, representing 'some of the last forested wilderness of South America' (Young and Leon, 1999: 11). Exposed to the massive cloud systems formed from the condensation of water vapour and carried up from the Amazon lowlands by easterly wind flows, this area experiences a high level of precipitation and lies on an extended ridge that runs southwards from the Ecuadorian border. Its landscape is covered by rainforests and mountain ranges that boast steep gradients and dramatic canyons, which in places are over 10,000 feet deep, offering some spectacular scenery. As Nugent writes, 'the canyon/valley of the Upper Marañón defines the western perimeter of the Chachapoya region. The semitropical floor of the river canyon lies at an elevation of less than 1,000 metres. The highest parts of the canyon reach elevations of over 4,000 metres' (1997: 26). Within the steep canyon walls a wide range of micro ecological zones are found in close proximity. Here we see the transition between alpine species found in the *Jalca* (moor land) and the tropical species of the Amazon lowland.

Subsistence farming is the predominant land use in the Utcubamba valley, with areas being slashed and burned by local farmers to clear the land ready for planting crops. 'The vegetational landscape is a mosaic of small units of secondary forests of varying age, orchids and crop fields, pastures and recent clearings' (Schjellerup, Sørensen, Espinoza, Quipuscoa and Peña, 2003: 255). Within this area,

deforestation rates are extremely high, which has led to land degradation and destruction of habitat as more land is cleared for cash crops, mainly coffee, which are increasingly substituting or supplementing traditional sowings of maize, sugar cane and bananas. In recent years, La Universidad Nacional de Toribio Rodríguez de Mendoza de Amazonas, along with El Instituto de Investigación para El Desarrollo Sustentable de Ceja de Selva, funded by a Peruvian/Italian consortium through Caritus Chachapoyas, have launched a reforestation project in Bongará province to replant trees and plants that have been destroyed in the area. Much of this project is taking place near to or surrounding the waterfall of Gocta.¹⁶

Flourishing for several centuries before its conquest by the Inca's, this ancient civilisation 'evolved in the New World in complete isolation from the Old World civilisations of Africa, Asia and Europe' (Muscutt, 1998: 23). Used to describe the pre-Inca Andean societies that inhabited the *cordillera*, the word 'Chachapoya' was introduced by the Inca as a means of grouping together the local populace for administrative purposes, while 'Chachapoyas' was used to describe their pre-Hispanic territory.¹⁷ It is thought that the Chachas, along with the Chillaos, the Pacllas and the Chilcho, were some of the ethnic subgroups that made up this Inca province (Church, 2005: 471 - 472). Also known as the 'cloud people', the Chachapoyan population was thought to have numbered over a quarter of a million during the height of their civilisation from AD800 to 1470 (Muscutt, 1998: 28). Regarding the history of these people, Church writes 'the Chachapoya represent the quintessential 'lost tribe,' founders of a 'lost civilisation,' and builders of 'lost cities' now abandoned and concealed by cold and rainy tropical cloud forests' (2006: 3).

Due to a lack of historical documentation, there is considerable mystery and speculation surrounding the origins and racial characteristics of the Chachapoya. An unusual fair skin has caused debate in recent years over their supposed links to a European heritage. However, Church notes that in recent studies of DNA samples taken from the skeletons found in the Laguna de Condores, Laguna Huallabamba and Los Pinchudos, 'not a shred of evidence supports the notion of 'white' Chachapoya

¹⁶ The Peruvian/Italian fund, known as '*El Fundo Italo-Peruano*', was established in 2001 as a joint project between the two countries to help the development of Peru. Projects in Peru are implemented through the Spanish branch of the NGO Caritas.

¹⁷ The word Chachapoya is an Inca-inspired amalgamation of a local tribe name Chacha and the Quechua (Inca language) term for cloud 'puya' (Church, 2006: 470).

populations of European or Mediterranean descent' (2006: 473). In discussing the fairness of the Chachapoya race, German anthropologist Dr Peter Lerche states:

There are chroniclers, many of them familiar with the region or with the Chacha '*mitimaes*' (groups of families taken from their communities by the Inca State and transferred to loyal or conquered towns to perform political, cultural, social, and economic functions) in other parts of the Andes, who say that they are the whitest Indians they have ever seen in the Americas. Chroniclers such as Cieza de León and others, who know a great part of what is today Latin America, say that they are very white. It is always necessary to be careful with the very imaginative publications. Sometimes they say that Vikings arrived here and this is why they are white. They make up stories saying that they have clear eyes and they are Vikings. They also say that the Vikings built Kuélap, hence it is necessary to be careful with these publications. This is absurd. Therefore, when they say 'the whitest Indians', I look at the physical appearance, at the body, and then I can say it is an exception but they did not have fair eyes or blond hair, nor were they Vikings or Celts, but their skin colour was just a bit lighter.¹⁸

Making Leymebamba its capital, the Inca quickly established its bureaucratic apparatus in the region, introducing the *mita* system. Realising the need to integrate the villages and recognising the communication problems generated by the great geographical distances, the Inca divided the Chachapoyan kingdom into two: the Huno de Leymebamba and Cochabamba to the north and the Huno de Condormarca and Collay (Church and Von Hagen, 2008: 917).

The dramatic cultural and demographic changes introduced by the Inca's following their conquest of the area, led to the loss of Chachapoya identity and language. Fragments of the Chachapoya language that survived the imposition of Quechua between AD 1470 and 1532 are most notable in names and place names such as Kueláp. The Inca conquest, which began around AD 1470 during the reign of the Emperor Túpac Inca, marked the end of an autonomous Chachapoyan civilisation (Church, 2005: 474). The capture of this pre-Colombian society was quick and

¹⁸ Interview with Dr Peter Lerche, 20 June 2011 - *Hay cronistas, varios que conocían la zona o que conocían mitimaes chachas en otras partes del Andes y dicen que son los indios mas blancos de las Américas que han visto. Cronistas como Cieza de León u otros cronistas que conocen una gran parte de lo que hoy es América Latina. Entonces ellos dicen que son muy blancos, pero siempre hay que tener cuidado con las publicaciones muy fantasiosas, a veces dicen vikingos han venido aquí por eso son blancos e inventan también ojos claros y son vikingos y Kuélap lo han hecho los vikingos, entonces hay que tener mucho cuidado con esas publicaciones. Eso es absurdo. Entonces cuando dicen indios más blancos, yo me fijo en lo físico, en el cuerpo, entonces es una excepción, y no tenían ojos claros, ni pelos rubios, no eran vikingos, ni celtas, solo la piel era un poco más clara.*

brutal. However, despite their defeat, the Chachapoya continued to rebel under the Inca leadership of Huayna Cápac and Huáscar, resulting in mass executions and a large number of citizens being deported to other parts of the empire.

The Incas arrived in 1470 and took an interest in the region because it was strategic; it was the main exchange corridor between the mountain ranges, the jungle and the coast. They wanted to control this corridor at any cost. The Chacha showed strong resistance and there was a lot of war during 60 years. It has never been a peaceful area and this led to the tradition of warriors. There were many fights and peace was never achieved by the Incas here.¹⁹

In an attempt to quell any rebellions in the region, the Inca resettled bureaucrats from Cuzco, as well as farmers and potters from other areas of the kingdom. During the reign of Huayna Cápac the pottery-producing community of Huancas, just north of modern Chachapoyas, were resettled from the Mantaro Valley (Church and Von Hagen, 2008: 916).²⁰

By the time of the Spanish Conquest the Inca Empire territory was equal to that of the Roman Empire and covered the modern day countries of Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru. Upon their arrival in 1530, the Spanish encountered an empire in crisis (Muscutt, 1998: 23). After the death of Emperor Huayna Capac, the empire had been divided between two of his heirs; Huascar controlling the southern Cuzco based region and Atahualpa, the northern Quito region, and had subsequently fallen into a civil war. The Chachapoya were caught in the middle of this conflict, both politically and geographically, resulting in heavy casualties (Muscutt, 1998: 29). By the time the Spanish arrived, a large number of rebellious Chachapoya had been exiled by the Inca and disease was spreading rapidly among the inhabitants. In discussing the decline of this ancient civilisation, Muscutt notes that ‘in less than a century, a catastrophic sequence of disasters had decimated its population and devastated a culture’ (1998: 33). From a population that once numbered 300,000, by AD1650 it was thought to have declined by around 90 per cent. Demographic

¹⁹ Interview with Dr Peter Lerche, 20 June 2011 - *Entonces llegan los Incas en 1470 y tomaron interés en esta zona porque era estratégica, era el corredor principal de intercambio entre sierra, selva y costa. Entonces querían a todo costo controlar este corredor y los chacha ofrecían mucha resistencia y hubo mucha guerra durante 60 años. Nunca ha sido una zona tranquila, por eso la tradición de guerreros. Entonces pelea y pelea y los Incas nunca han logrado una paz incaica aquí.*

²⁰ Huancas is 30 minutes north of the city of Chachapoyas; the Mantaro Valley is located in the central sierra, east of Lima.

collapse and forced relocations eventually led to the abandonment of this once densely populated region (Church, 2006: 470).

In 1532, a small reconnaissance mission, led by Hernando de Soto, was sent to Chachapoyas amidst rumours of a build-up of Inca warriors in the Levanto area. Shortly after his departure, the Chachapoya, under the leadership of Guamán, quickly allied themselves with Francisco Pizarro and the Spanish *conquistadores*, viewing this as an opportunity to rid themselves of the Inca. By 1535 the Spanish, led by Alonso de Alvarado, had conquered Cochabamba, with the help of Guamán. Three years after his first expedition, the Spanish colony of San Juan de la Frontera de los Chachapoyas was founded by Alonso de Alvarado on 5 September 1538, which after first being established near to La Jalca and later Levanto, finally came to rest where the modern city is located around 1545. During this period, Chachapoyas became the capital of the Peruvian east, which was used by the Spanish as a base for expeditions to conquer and colonise the Amazon (Muscutt, 1998: 31 - 33).

Despite frequent uprisings, the Spanish were able to maintain control over the colony through implementing the *encomienda* system. Initially devised to meet agricultural needs, the reality was that it was used as a means of securing labour supply and extracting tribute from the Indians. The *encomienda* was essential to the Spanish crown, sustaining its control not only over the Chachapoyan kingdom but all of its conquered territory in the first decades after colonisation, as it organised indigenous communities and rewarded those Spaniards who had participated in the conquest. In charge of the Leymebamba *economienda* was the conqueror Alonso de Alvarado.

It was not until 6 June 1821 that Chachapoyas gained liberation from Spain in the battle of Higos Urco. Led by Colonel José Matos, the battle was part of the campaign which led to the proclamation of Peruvian independence on 28 July 1821. Formally part of the department of La Libertad, Chachapoyas was integrated into the newly created department of Amazonas in 1832 along with Pataz and Maynas, when it was decided the territory of La Libertad was too extensive (Aguilar Briceño, 1982: 35).²¹

²¹ In 1840, Pataz was reincorporated into the department of La Libertad and in 1866 Maynas became part of Loreto department.

Chachapoyas still maintains its colonial aspect, with its large buildings containing inner courtyards and wooden balconies surrounding the Plaza de Armas and scattered throughout the city. In many cases, these houses have become restaurants or hotels, some being used as government buildings, such as the *municipalidad* (town hall).

The Chachapoya have left behind evidence of pre-Hispanic settlement in a region that was previously thought to have been inhabitable, impenetrable and uncivilised. The Citadel Kuélap, located on a mountainous ridge some 9,500 masl, is recognised as the political centre of Chachapoyan life. Thought to have been built around AD 1000, some archaeologists such as Kauffmann Doig (2009) believe that originally Kuélap served as an administrative centre for food production, where ceremonial rituals were performed to ensure good harvests. Others argue (Muscutt, 1998: 16) that Kuélap was originally built as a defence against the expanding Wari, who controlled much of the coast and central Andes during that period. Hidden in the cloud forests of the Amazonian Andes, Kuélap, which means ‘cold place’ because of its temperature at night, is one of the most impressive remaining monuments of the Chachapoya culture and is viewed by many to be ‘the Machu Picchu of the north’.

‘Discovered’ by Juan Crisóstomo Nieto in 1843, 70 years before Machu Picchu was announced to the world by Hiram Bingham, Kuélap is evidence that the Inca were not the only pre-Colombian society to build on a monumental scale, with three times more materials used in its construction than used to build the Egyptian pyramid Cheops. Located between Suta and Levanto, the citadel is protected by a perimeter wall, which in some parts is more than 20 metres high and covers an area of six hectares. Three entryways are cut into the wall, two on the eastern side and one on the western. Inside there were over 400 circular buildings, constructed on terraces and retained by stone walls. Surrounding Kuélap were terraces for the cultivation of staples, such as potatoes, maize and legumes (Kauffmann Doig, 2009: 59).²²

Local settlements were typically found on mountainous ridge tops, surrounded by cloud forests. Hundreds of small communities were situated 3,000 masl along the Marañón-Huallaga divide and between 2,000 and 2,009 masl in the

²² See Appendix Two for photographs of Kuélap.

forest slopes of the eastern *Cordillera*. It is thought that they were built on mountaintops to avoid occupying potential farmland, as well as to protect them from heavy rain and mudslides which frequently occur during the rainy season (Church and Von Hagen, 2008: 913). As in Kuélap, dwellings were circular and made with stone, with thatched roofs. What distinguished Chachapoya structures from other pre-Colombian Andean structures was the decorative stone mosaic found on the upper walls.²³

The Chachapoya were renowned warriors and shamans, in addition to being accomplished weavers and stone carvers. Although the different ethnic groups that made up the various communes shared common construction techniques, clothing, language and decorative methods used in weaving and pottery, what set the clans apart were their different burial and mortuary customs. The Chachapoya buried their dead in a number of ways; some were placed in burial houses on cliff ledges, with their bones placed in baskets (e.g. as in Laguna de los Cóndores and Revash), whilst others were placed in sarcophagi and balanced on cliffs (e.g. Karajía).²⁴ Unfortunately very few burial sites seemed to have survived over the years due to looting and vandalism.²⁵

Synopsis

The following chapters will develop the research hypothesis and will set out the background literature of the study, the methodology used, and lastly, present the results of the case study carried out in Cocachimba, Peru.

Chapter 2 details how the research was conducted. It gives a comprehensive overview of the research location and examines the various research methods adopted to carry out this investigation together with a discussion of the issues of

²³ These decorative stone mosaics were normally of zigzags, rhomboids or figurative motifs, such as those found at Kuélap and Gran Patajén.

²⁴ Stone burial houses were discovered tucked into a cliff 100 metres above La Laguna de los Cóndores in 1996. The structures inside which had remained untouched for almost 500 years, contained bundles of mummies. Despite looting and vandalism by locals, 200 mummies were rescued and are now being studied closely by Dr Sonia Guillen and her team at the museum of Leymebamba. Other burial houses, namely Revash, have been found high above a tributary of the River Utcubamba, near Santo Tomás in the Luya province. However, relatively accessible, the funeral site has been extensively plundered and vandalised over the years, which has resulted in graffiti being drawn over the pictographs that decorate the cliff. Mummies were placed in large (more than two meters high) anthropomorphosis capsules and made of clay and stood along the cliffs face in rows. In total there are 7 sarcophagi. Each capsule was painted cream, with details such as necklaces, feathered tunics and facial traits and accompanied by ceramics and mortuary cloths. These elaborate coffins were presented to the world in 1984 by the archaeologist Federico Kauffman Doig.

²⁵ See Appendix Three for photos of Karajía.

ethics, bias and reflexivity. In addition to providing a practical understanding of the process of data collection and analysis and discussing the structure of the research, conditions and experiences, it also clarifies the methodological theoretical philosophy which accompanies this thesis.

Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework, situating this study in the broader context of development and tourism. The first section of the chapter defines tourism and discusses the evolution of tourism theory in an historical context and the influence of development theory on its progression. It moves on to examine tourism and its relationship with sustainable development and conceptualises the concept of sustainable tourism development. The chapter also examines the theoretical debate surrounding community participation in tourism development and explores the relationship between the relationship between tourism and environment. Lastly, the chapter focuses on the viability of sustainable tourism development and examines how closely a host area is able to adhere to its principles as it progresses and develops as a tourist destination.

Chapter 4, 5, and 6 present and discuss the results of the case study carried out. The three empirical chapters are split into the first three stages of the STDC model which coincide with the explorations stage, the involvement stage and the development and consolidation stages of a destination area's life cycle. The empirical chapters identify a number of factors which work against sustainable tourism development and, using Cocachimba as a case study, demonstrate how as a destination passes through the various stages of its life cycle, it moves further away from the principles of sustainability.

Lastly, chapter 7 brings to a close the discussion and concludes that the case study of sustainable tourism development in Cocachimba supports the theoretical arguments presented in the preceding chapters. It also reviews the aims of the dissertation and sets out suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Fieldwork is a continual process of reflection and alteration of the focus of observations in accordance with analytic developments. It permits researchers to witness people's actions in different settings and routinely ask themselves a myriad of questions concerning motivations, beliefs and actions (May, 1997: 143).

Introduction

The intention of this chapter is to layout the empirical and philosophical elements that underwrite the methodological basis of this research. It aims to provide a practical understanding of the research methods employed throughout this dissertation and the rationale for their selection. The methodologies and research practices combine both the practical and theoretical aspects of this study and reflect the theoretical questions that arose during its duration. The research can be described as 'qualitative', in that it is 'broadly interpretivist in the sense that it concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced' and based on methods of data collection intended to be 'flexible and sensitive to the social context' in which it is framed (Mason, 1996: 4). The methods applied allowed the research to be conducted systematically and rigorously while in a flexible, contextual and reflexive manner.

The first section gives a brief overview of Cocachimba, setting the scene of the fieldwork location, and discusses the choice of research location and the single case study approach taken. It then lays out the methodological theoretical philosophy, abstracting elements from interpretive ethnography, Weberian notions of ideal types and critical hermeneutics, which underline the theoretical basis of the research. It also addresses the issue of reflexivity, analysing the notions of interpretation and reflection in social research. The second half of the chapter moves on to consider the practical process of the fieldwork (ethics and bias) and the methodologies used. Lastly, it describes the structure of the research, conditions and experiences.

Research Location

The ‘discovery’ of the waterfall, Gocta, in 2006 by the German engineer Stefan Ziemendorff, put a previously isolated and forgotten village in the Utcubamba valley on the map.²⁶ Also known as La Chorrera, which comes from the sound made by the yellow tailed woolly monkey, the waterfall is located in the district of Valera and feeds the river that forms the boundary between the two villages of Cocachimba and San Pablo.²⁷ One and half hours (21km) from the city of Chachapoyas, the small rural annex of Cocachimba is the main point of entry to the waterfall. However, another route is possible via the capital of the district, San Pablo.²⁸

Situated at 1796 metres above sea level, Cocachimba has a pleasant climate known as *Yunga*, with average temperatures fluctuating between 15 and 25 degrees centigrade. Like the rest of Amazonas department, the dry season is between May and September and the wet season from October to April. Agriculture is the main economic activity of the village with cultivation taking place during the wet season. Surrounding the village are small fields (*chacras*) which are farmed by local families. The main crops grown are yucca, maize, beans, cabbage and carrots, along with some fruits, such as pineapples and sweet limes. Sugar cane is cultivated in large quantities and used for the production of *chancaca* and *panela*.²⁹ The village has long survived on subsistence farming, the majority of products being grown for personal consumption. However, any excess crops are sold at the market in Pedro Ruíz, 40 minutes away.³⁰

Single Case Study

The main aim of this study was to test empirically the principles of sustainable tourism as a development model at micro-level. A single case study was deemed appropriate rather than a comparative one, based upon the reason that many destinations experience similar issues and pressures during the development, planning and management of tourism. Thereby focusing on a single case study it is

²⁶ It is important to clarify that local people have been aware of the waterfall for many generations; however, it was Stefan Ziemendorff who made its presence known publically and internationally.

²⁷ The yellow tailed woolly monkey (*Lagotrix Flavicauda*) is endemic to Peru and seasonally visits the forest that surrounds the waterfall. The district of San Pablo de Valera is in the province Bongará in the department of Amazonas.

²⁸ See Appendix Four for photographs of Cocachimba.

²⁹ *Chancaca* is a typical sweet sauce made of unrefined sugar crystallised with honey. *Panela* is unrefined whole sugar obtained from the boiling and evaporation of cane juice.

³⁰ See Appendix Five for map of the province of Bongará

possible to ‘illuminate the general by looking at the particular’ (Denscombe, 1998: 30). As Denscombe explains, ‘the logic behind concentrating efforts on one case rather than many is that there may be insights to be gained from looking at the individual case that can have wider implications and, importantly that would not have come to light through the use of a research strategy that tried to cover a large number of instances’ (2003: 30). It was felt this method would allow for a more in-depth and focused enquiry which considered both endogenous and exogenous factors, while allowing for a detailed analysis of the issues involved through spending a sufficient amount of time in a specific research location. Yin describes a case study as ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’ (2003: 13). It permits the investigation to divulge into the complexities of the study and to employ a variety of research methods, which through triangulation facilitated the validation of the data collected. As Denscombe notes, through triangulation ‘different methods can be used to collect data on the same thing. Each can look at the same thing from a different perspective – and these perspectives can be used by the researcher as a means of comparison and contrast’ (1998: 84). Therefore, using alternative methods allows the findings from the various selected methods to be checked against each other. By comparing the data, the findings can be corroborated or questioned. Also, through applying a variety of methods to the same question, the strength of one method can compensate for the weakness of another, enabling a more all-rounded study to be conducted.

Case Study Choice Criteria

The choice of research location was dependent on a number of factors, all of which were carefully considered before selecting Peru and the Chachapoya region. The criteria were as follows:

- The tourism industry must be well established within the country.
- The destination chosen should be near the beginning of its ‘life cycle’ (Butler: 1980) enabling the process of tourism development to be monitored continuously as it passes through each stage and for the processes that determine the scale, nature, rate of its growth to be analysed.

- The nation state must be reasonably developed in order to allow the political, economic and social conditions needed for implementing sustainable tourism development.
- The attraction must be of significant importance to attract both national and international tourists.
- The destination must be relatively accessible, with sufficient infrastructure to facilitate tourists.
- Data from both the private and public sector must be available and accessible.
- The destination must have an identifiable tourism development policy.

Although there are many destinations which satisfy these criteria, Peru was chosen because of its established tourism sector and emergence as a major tourist destination over the last three decades or so. As a developing country, Peru is using tourism to stimulate social and economic growth throughout the country and in 2008 announced a ten year plan to develop the sector, particularly in the north where it is less established. As new areas are opened up to tourism, such as the Chachapoya region, the problems and issues that they face will be similar to many other emerging destinations. In recent years attention has begun to focus on the Amazonas region, largely due to political unrest and the decentralisation process initiated by the Toledo administration (2001–2006). Given that the region possesses little economic development potential apart from tourism, the government has become heavily focused on promoting this activity.

As tourism continues to expand, Peru has been faced with many problems largely concerning spatial planning and environmental issues. Previously, all efforts to develop the sector have been mainly concentrated in the south of the country, resulting in a cluster of tourism facilities and visitors to the department of Cuzco, with the majority flocking to Macchu Picchu. With environmental issues affecting Peru's main tourist attraction, as a result of high demand, the government has sought to limit the number of visitors per day. In parallel, the state has started to develop other regions further north and away from the well-established southern circuit, in order to equalise the regional effects of the tourism throughout the country. The Chachapoya region has benefited from this new strategy and been targeted under the National Strategic Tourism Plan as one of the locations to be developed, forming part

of the North-Eastern circuit. Given that tourism only significantly began to develop in the last decade or so, this area has not reached its full capacity, providing the perfect conditions to monitor the evolution of sustainable tourism development.

As the region's capital, Chachapoyas is trying to establish itself as the gateway to Amazonas for tourists. As the Mayor of Chachapoyas explained, 'Chachapoyas has a lot of potential as a tourist destination and we see it as an alternative socio-economic and productive activity within our communities. If we develop tourism we will move the city forward and at the same time we will strengthen all the economic activities of the people'.³¹ With the most developed tourism infrastructure in the region, most tourists arrive via Chachapoyas and use the city as a base to explore the region. The majority of tourists that visit the region are nationals arriving from Lima, Trujillo, Chiclayo and Arequipa. International tourists are principally backpackers; however, organised tour groups are becoming more common. Currently, Chachapoyas potential to be a vibrant tourist destination is limited because of poor infrastructure in the region, the main issues being its poor road network. Presently, the only way to reach the city is by road; these however, are in a state of disrepair. From Chachapoyas the numerous tour agencies located around the main square ferry people back and forth to the various tourist attractions in the area. These include Kuelap, Gocta, Karajía, Revash, and the museum of Leymebamba and the Laguna de los Condores. The lack of accessible transport to these destinations means that the tourists have little option but to take organised tours.

Formally recognising the importance of tourism as a tool for socio-economic growth in the province, the municipality of Chachapoyas created the office of tourism development. The office was established to help consolidate Chachapoyas as a touristic centre and promote the history and culture of the city. At the moment there is only one museum in Chachapoyas, the museum of Santa Ana, however, the municipality is considering constructing a regional museum in the city in the future. There are also plans for a city tour, although this idea has been ridiculed by some. In discussing this issue, one tour agent commented:

³¹ Interview with the mayor of Chachapoyas, 12 June 2011 – *Chachapoyas tiene un potencial turístico muy fuerte y nosotros lo vemos como una alternativa para las actividades social y económicas y productivas dentro de nuestras comunidades. Si potencializamos el turismo pues vamos a sacar adelante a la población y al mismo tiempo se va a fortalecer todo lo que son las actividades económicas de los pobladores.*

Cusco has got Inca walls and everything else and it's got the history, Chachapoyas does not have that. I mean they are trying to invent a city tour, I mean you cannot invent a city tour. It is like they are wasting their time, just because every other place has a city tour. Chiclayo does not have a city tour, why? Because there is nothing to see! If people are going to make Chachapoyas a successful destination it has to find something else, a city tour is not going to work here.³²

Despite this important step, the municipality currently does not have a provincial plan of development in place which incorporates tourism into the overall socio-economic development of the region. Instead, it is concentrating its efforts on evaluating and analysing its principal and potential tourist attractions and establishing projects which will strengthen tourism in the province. Recent projects include creating a tourist map of the city, carrying out a tourist survey to create a tourist profile and organising a festival of gastronomy.

Chachapoyas makes an ideal base for exploration of the rest of the region, serving as a strategic geographical and logistical location, with the majority of tour operators and guides operating out of the city. Transport to all the major tourist attractions leaves from the Plaza de Armas in Chachapoyas and there is sufficient infrastructure to reach all locations. Also, the regional government of Amazonas and its institutions, as well as NGOs, are based in the city.

Selecting Cocachimba as the Case Study Location

My arrival in Chachapoyas coincided with the yearly tourism fair, organised by the regional government to showcase the region's on-going social and cultural activities.³³ Local communities also have the opportunity to sell local artefacts and promote tourist attractions in their area throughout the week. The fair provided me with an introduction to Amazonas and its tourist attractions and gave me the opportunity to see the different levels of tourism development throughout the region. By the end of the fair I was able to identify several potential research locations, which during the following weeks I visited. These locations included Cocachimba and Gocta waterfall, Huancas, Tingo María and Kueláp, Santo Tomas and Karajia and Leymebamba. As a result, I decided that one of the best locations to carry my

³² Interview with a tour agent from Chachapoyas, 13 June 2011. This interview was conducted in English.

³³ See Appendix Seven for photographs from the tourism fair held in Chachapoyas in 2010.

research would be the communities surrounding Gocta. The reasons behind this were that it already had some kind of a tourism committee; it received regular visitors and was only one hour from Chachapoyas and, therefore, very accessible. Located within the district of San Pablo de Valera, the waterfall splits two communities: San Pablo and Cocachimba. With both communities involved in tourism, each having their own path to the waterfall, this area offered two potential case study locations and consequently allowed more flexibility and also increased the chances of being accepted into a community.

Amazonas

Although the department of Amazonas was founded in 1832, shortly after Independence, it was not until 21 November 2001 that it became officially recognised as a region. Situated in the northeast of the Peru, Amazonas shares its borders with Ecuador to the north, the departments of Loreto and San Martín to the west, Cajamarca to the east and La Libertad and San Martín to the south. Its close proximity to the Amazon jungle and the Andean mountain range makes this region rich in biodiversity. However, it remained in relative isolation until the Olmos-Bagua highway was built in 1960 during the government of Manuel Prado. To this day, due to its rugged terrain and geographical isolation, the region capital of Chachapoyas still remains relatively cut off from the rest of Peru, accessible by land via Cajamarca or Chiclayo and by air from Chiclayo or Tarapoto. The airport in Chachapoyas has remained inoperative to commercial flights since 2005, although in September 2011 talks were underway between commercial airlines and the Municipalidad of Chachapoyas to restart flights to Lima and Chiclayo.

The Amazonas region is made up of seven provinces; Chachapoyas founded in 1821 after its independence, Bagua created in 1941, Bongará in 1870, Condorcanqui in 1984, Luya in 1861, Rodríguez de Mendoza in 1932 and Utcubamba, established in 1984. One of the smallest regional capitals, Chachapoyas, was the sixth city to be founded in Peru after San Miguel de Piura, Cusco, Jauja, Lima and Trujillo.³⁴

³⁴ See Appendix Six for map of the department of Amazonas

Table 16 **Population Figures for Amazonas Department (2011)**

Province	Inhabitants
Chachapoyas	54,593
Bagua	77,537
Bongará	31,769
Condorcanqui	50,742
Luya	52,248
Rodríguez de Mendoza	29,895
Utcubamaba	118,682
Total	415,466

Source: Adopted from data collected by INEI: 2011

Considered to be one of Peru's poorest regions, life expectancy is lower than the national average by 3.1 years for men and 4.2 years for women.

Table 17 **Life Expectancy (years)**

	National	Amazonas
Men	70.5	67.4
Women	75.9	71.7

Source: Adopted from data collected by INEI: 2011

In addition to having a lower life expectancy, poverty levels in Amazonas are above the national average, peaking at 25 per cent in 2009. Despite this, poverty levels have fallen in Amazonas and were reduced by 5.5 percentage points between 2004 and 2009.

Table 18 **Poverty Levels in Amazonas Compared to National Figures**

Year	National	Amazonas	Percentage difference
2004	48.6%	65.1%	+ 16.5%
2005	48.7%	68.6%	+ 19.9 %
2006	44.5%	59.1%	+ 14.6 %
2007	39.3%	55.0%	+ 15.7 %
2008	36.2%	59.7%	+ 23.5 %
2009	34.8%	59.8%	+ 25.0 %

Source: Adopted from data collected by INEI: 2011

Within Amazonas region, the province of Condorcanqui has the highest proportion of the population affected by poverty, at 76.3 per cent. However, in terms of the number people living under the poverty line, the province of Utcubamba has the highest number, with 54,224 people classified as poor.

Table 19 **Poverty Levels According to Province (2007)**

Provincial	Number of people under the poverty line	Proportion of population affected (%)
Utcubamba	54,225	49.7%
Bagua	38,586	53.8%
Condorcanqui	33,043	76.3%
Luya	29,441	60.9%
Chachapoyas	23,848	48.0%
Bangará	13,166	47.9%
Rodriguez de Mendoza	10,322	39.1%

Source: Adopted from data collected by INEI: 2011

Economic activities in the region consist of agriculture, fishing and mining, business, transport and communication, manufacturing and construction. The principal economic activity is agriculture/fishing/mining, which was measured at 64 per cent in 2004, falling to 59.8 per cent in 2009. The sector which increased the most during this period was business, rising by per cent (see Table 11).

Table 20 **Structure of the Employed Population by Sector of Economic Activity**

Economic Activity	2004 (%)	2009 (%)
Agriculture/fishing/mining	64.0%	59.8%
Business	9.3%	12.2%
Transport and Communication	3.1%	5.0%
Manufacturing	4.7%	4.1%
Construction	1.3%	2.4%
Other Services	17.6%	18.5%

Source: Adopted from data collected by INEI: 2011

Some of the main agricultural commodities in Amazonas are yucca, coffee, rice and milk. At the national level in 2009, Amazonas was the second producer of yucca, third of green beans, and fifth of rice, coffee and milk (see Table 13).

Table 21 Main Products Produced in Amazonas (2009)

National Ranking	Product	Total (Tons)	National Production (%)
2	Yucca	166,785	13.7%
3	Green Beans	2,374	19.2%
3	Caigua ³⁵	554	10.4%
5	Coffee	31,256	12.5%
5	Rice	316,216	10.6%
5	Pacay ³⁶	3,324	9.0%
5	Milk	75,111	4.5%

Source: Adopted from data collected by INEI: (2011).

Tourism in Amazonas

Tourism in the region began to develop in the late 1980s. However, it was the unveiling of Kuélap in 1994 and later the discovery of the Laguna de los Cóndores in 1997 that launched the region as a tourist destination. Despite this, the flow of tourists remained relatively low due to tensions with Ecuador and the socio-political problems Peru experienced at that time, as the guerrilla movement Sendero Luminoso was active in the region. In 2004, Amazonas became part of the north-eastern tourist circuit, together with the neighbouring departments of Lambayeque, Cajamarca and La Libertad, with the main objective being to promote the north of the country as a tourist destination and to strengthen the sector in these areas. In 2006, the Gocta waterfall was added to the list of tourist attractions and has come to play an important role in regional development.

³⁵ The caigua is an herbaceous vine grown for its edible fruit and resembles a cucumber.

³⁶ The pacay is a tree native to Central and South America. It is a legume which contains a podded fruit often cultivated for its edible white pulp surrounding large seeds.

Table 22 **Tourist Arrivals in Chachapoyas Province**

Year	National Arrivals	International Arrivals
2005	41,661	1,957
2006	44,417	5,934
2007	51,899	9,208
2008	71,316	8,999
2009	62,566	6,184
2010	81,870	6,226

Source: DICETUR Amazonas; (2011)

Part of the former Chachapoyan territory, Amazonas has benefited from the cultural and historical legacy left by this ancient civilisation, with its pre-Colombian ruins and artefacts forming part of the tourist package. With the existence of 168 indigenous communities who still preserve their languages, cultures and customs, such as the Awajún and the Huambizas located in the provinces of Condorcanqui and Bagua, as well as a wealth of fauna and flora, the region offers visitors a wide variety of attractions.

In 2004 the development of the region as a tourist destination was prioritised by the central government, allocating funds to help with the preservation of Kuélap and the development of a touristic corridor in the Alto Utcubamba Valley. In response and in accordance with plan COPESCO, the regional government of Amazonas formulated its own plan (PERTUR) for the period 2009 - 2015.³⁷ DICETUR, helped by the German NGO, Deutsche Gesellschaft Für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), have set out a number of strategies and objectives, with the main aim of plan PERTUR Amazonas being to establish tourism as sustainable development tool for the region.

³⁷ PERTUR stands for Plan Estratégico Regional de Turismo (Regional Strategic Tourism Plan).

Table 23**Strategic Vision of PERTUR**

Strategy	Objectives
Position Amazonas as a competitive tourist destination	Advertising regional tourism resources on the tourist market
	Developing the regions gastronomy
	Developing the production of artisan goods
	Improving the quantity and quality of tourism facilities
	Conserving and rejuvenating patrimony
	Upgrading telecommunications
	Valuing the regions tourist resources
	Renovating buildings that conserve the traditional architecture and respect the local environment
Generate a regional touristic culture	Involving the local community in tourism and nurturing cultural identity
	Creating a security system to ensure a safe environment for tourists
Strengthening the integration of those actors involved in the tourism sector	Increasing public and private investment in tourism development
	Directing the benefits of tourism development to the local population
	Commitment all actors involved in the tourism sector to the development of tourism
	Introducing policies and legislation to aid the implementation of sustainable tourism
	Strengthening local authority capability to manage tourism development
Increase tourism demand	Expanding the flow of tourists in the different segments of the market and increase satisfaction
	Implementing more accessible links for tourism purposes
	Implementation of a quality strategy for tourism promotion

Source: Plan Estratégico Regional de Turismo 2009 – 2015 (2009: 66).

In pursuit of these goals, during the period the fieldwork was being undertaken, DICETUR was involved in executing the following projects:

- Improving the quality of services and attraction in Amazonas - a three year project with a budget of S/1,300,000. This involves working with the local

university to enhance training for those working in the tourism sector, as well as compiling an inventory of tourist attractions parallel with the promotion and marketing of the region.³⁸

- Implementation of sustainable tourism development practices in the provinces of Bongará, Chachapoyas, Rodríguez de Mendoza and Luya, a five-year project with a budget of S/. 4,800,000.
- The development of the tourism circuit between Pedro Ruíz – the waterfall at Cuispez-la Chinata and San Carlos – a two year project with a budget of S/. 1,300,000. The main issues revolve around the repair of basic infrastructure such roads, paths and bridges

Theoretical Methodological Basis

The philosophical composition of this project is centred on a ‘holistic approach’ to research. In both methodological and theoretical terms, the research aims to provide an in-depth and extensive study whilst embracing the political and ideological context in which it is situated. It also seeks to create a theoretical framework that will give the research a reflexive nature, acknowledging both the interpretative nature of social science and the existence of an objective social reality. The philosophical make-up of this research contains elements of inductive ethnography, Weberian notions of ideal types and critical hermeneutics. Woven together, these philosophical elements constitute the theoretical grounding for the research in terms of its application, analysis and meta-theory. It is important to point out that this research is not an ethnography, however, ethnographic methods provide the foundations for the collection of empirical data and analysis. Furthermore, Weber’s ideal types provide a pragmatic means of understanding the related structures and theories, while critical hermeneutics addresses the issue of interpretation.

Inductive ethnography constitutes the theoretical basis for the collection of empirical data. Ethnography as a research method has its roots in social anthropology and places an emphasis on ‘the study of people in natural occurring settings or ‘fields’ by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities involving the researcher participating directly in the setting’ (Brewer,

³⁸ The average exchange rate in 2009 was 1 US Dollar to 4.70332 Peruvian Nuevo Sole(s) and in 2010 1 US Dollar to 4.3667 (<http://gbp.fx-exchange.com/pen/exchange-rates-history.html>).

2000: 10 in Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009: 84 – 85). According to Denscombe (1998: 68 – 69) ethnography has the following characteristics; first it requires the researcher to spend a considerable amount of time in the field among the targeted group or organisation. Second, routine and normal aspects of everyday life are considered during the collection of research data. Third, attention is given to the way research subjects perceive their world. An ethnographer is ‘generally concerned to find out how the members of the group/culture being studied understand things, the meanings they attach to happenings and the way they perceive their reality’ (Denscombe, 1998: 69). Fourth, ethnography takes an holistic approach and emphasises examining the ‘interlinkages between the various features of the culture to avoid isolating facets of the culture from the wider context within which it exists’ (Denscombe, 1998: 69). Last, it acknowledges that the ethnographer’s final account of the culture or group being studied is a crafted construction which inevitably takes in some of the researcher’s own experience. Using an inductive strategy allows the researcher to to openly acknowledge ones preconceptions and to read and consider related literature and theories, thus proceeding with a more developed form of inductivism. As Blaikie notes:

[An] inductive strategy embodies the realist ontology which assumes that there is a reality ‘out there’ with regularities that can be described and explained, and it adopts the epistemological principle that the task of observing this reality is essentially unproblematic as long as the researcher adopts objective strategies (1993: 143).

In this investigation, inductive ethnography is used to link method, data collection and analysis, allowing the researcher to chart, through a variety of means, the extensive study of a phenomenon. It also allows the study to evolve rather than being pre-structured. On this point, Alvesson and Sköldberg remark:

Less codified than grounded theory, ethnography gives more scope to the researcher’s person and allows for a more flexible stance in relation to the data. However, proponents of inductive ethnography share with grounded theory the assumption that the data studied provide the key to the result, and that theory and interpretation are secondary, relative to the data’ (2000: 47).

On the methodological side, ethnography allows the researcher to apply a broad set of techniques, the most common being participant observation and interviewing.

Ethnography is both demanding and time consuming. However, it provides detailed data based on direct observation that can be used as means for developing or testing theories. As Eberle and Maeder clarify, 'doing ethnography means using multiple methods of data gathering, like observation, interviews, collection of documents, pictures, audio-visual materials as well as representations of artefact. The main difference from other ways of investigating the social world is that, the researcher does 'fieldwork' and collects data herself through physical presence' (2011: 54 in Silverman, 2011: 113).

Weber's method of ideal types is employed to incorporate the notion of understanding into the research and introduce a 'sense of an 'interpretative' integration of the subject area which is the object of understanding into overarching patterns of meanings' (Mommsen, 1989: 122). Weber's ideal type is used as a meta-theoretical foundation for the use of a case study and as a means of understanding the structures and theories that arise during the research in a more pragmatic fashion. Through the construction of ideal types the researcher is able to discover 'what is unique about a course of events, a doctrine or a situation by showing in each particular case, to what extent reality departs from the unified and unreal analytical construct' (Freund, 1968: 68 – 69). In practical terms, ideal types work as a benchmark from which theoretical clarity can be attained, allowing a complex situation to be understood in a simplified form. In other words, it provides the researcher with a pragmatic means of understanding the structures and theories related to the research. As Mommsen notes, ideal types 'are intended to measure the discrepancy between a particular segment of empirical reality and the constructed norm, not to provide a direct representation of reality' (1989: 124).

The hermeneutical element of critical theory addresses the issue of interpretation and the value of dialogue, whilst adding an element of reflexivity. It encourages the researcher to move away from a traditional cultural stance when interpreting existing social reality. Instead it posits that the phenomena should be interpreted within its context and meaning, drawing attention to the political dimensions involved. Habermas's theory of communicative rationality argues that interpretations contain elements of understanding and investigation. It emphasises the way in which 'we inquire into the authenticity of various imperatives and demand what can be recognised as reasonable arguments' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000: 118 - 119). Therefore, critical hermeneutics takes into consideration the coercion and

distortions found in interpretation. Through acknowledgement of the existence of these factors the researcher is able to inquire into and discuss the statement, thus discovering its relevance and reliability. Critical to this process of unveiling the social world via communicative rationality described by Habermas, is 'reflexivity'.

Reflexivity

As Finlay points out, 'reflexivity in all its guises is now, arguably, a defining feature of qualitative research' (Finlay, 2003: 5). Reflexivity can be defined as a the 'process of continually reflecting upon our interpretations of both our experience and the phenomena being studied so as to move beyond the partiality of our previous understandings and out own investment in particular research outcomes' (Finlay, 2003: 108). Crucially, it recognises that 'the researcher is a central figure who actively constructs the collection, selection and interpretation of data' (Finlay, 2003: 5). Put simply, reflexivity can be understood as a means of continually monitoring and auditing the research process and can be used as a tool to:

- Examine the impact of the position, perspective and presence of the researcher.
- Promote rich insight through examining personal responses and interpersonal; dynamics.
- Open up unconscious motivations and implicit biases in the researcher's approach.
- Empower others by opening up a more radical consciousness.
- Evaluate the research process, method and outcomes (Finlay, 2003: 16).

Reflexivity within a research project is essential as it acknowledges 'the complex relationship between the process of knowledge production and the various contexts of such processes as well as the involvement of the knowledge producer' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000: 5). It illustrates the importance of careful interpretation and reflection, showing an understanding of the way linguistic, social, political, cultural, theoretical, perceptual and cognitive elements are fused together before, during and after the collection of empirical data. By reflecting on these issues attention is shifted from the handling of empirical data towards the consideration of these elements, which form the background to and permeate interpretations. It thereby recognises the

principle premises of interpretation, theoretical assumptions, the significance of language and pre-understanding.

Reflexivity in research also identifies the element of subjectivity within the research process and that no research is entirely objective. Fook and Gardener posit that ‘we need to be aware of the many and varied ways in which we might create, or least influence, the type of knowledge we use’ (2007: 28). Acceptance of this permits a more realistic view of the topic of study and also a more thorough understanding of the researchers’ standpoint in relation to the wider body of work and its research participants/community, constantly considering the various elements involved within the area of interpretation. An aspect of critical appraisal is also addressed within the reflexivity element of this research. It allowed for the consideration of power relations between the researcher and target group participants. Through critical reflection, issues such as race, gender and class, which arise from different social positions, are contemplated. Therefore, in practical terms reflection involved a continual consideration of what one is doing and the interaction between the researcher and the target group, giving the research a more contextual, holistic and experiential approach.

Research Agenda

The main points focused on during this period were:

Tourism Development in Peru:

- Principal characteristics of tourism development in Peru.
- National and regional (Amazonas) tourism development policies, aims and objectives.
- Market trends and tourist profiles.
- Institutionalisation of tourism in Peru.
- Contribution of tourism to the Peruvian economy (GDP, tourism related employment).

Development Issues (endogenous and exogenous factors):

- Rate and scale of development growth.
- Impacts of tourism development.

- Degree of state involvement.
- Degree of private sector.
- Ownership of tourism facilities participation.
- Structure and methods for control of tourism flow.

Consumption of Tourism in Cocachimba

- Relationship between tourism and the environment.
- Attitudes towards tourism and the environment (degree of concern and value).
- Understanding of relationship between tourism and the environment.

Methodology

For the purpose of this research the three main qualitative data collection methods were documentation, semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

Semi-structured Interviews, Documentation and Participant Observation

Semi-structured interviews and participant observation have long been associated with ethnographic research. Interviewing is a method which involved ‘maintaining and generating conversations with people on a specific topic or range of topics, and the interpretations which social researchers make of the resultant data’ (May, 1997: 107). Generally, as Mason (1996: 38) describes, qualitative interviewing is characterised by following:

- A relatively informal style, giving the appearance of a conversation or discussion rather than a formal question and answer format.
- A thematic, topic-centred, biographical or narrative approach. Usually, the researcher does not have a structured list of questions but a range of topics, themes or issues which they wish to discuss.
- The assumption that data is generated via the interaction, with either the interviewee(s) or the interaction itself viewed as the source of the data.
- Interviews may involve one-to-one interactions or larger groups.

Interviewing was selected as one of the principal means of data collection as it offered access to people’s perceptions and definitions of the topic, as well as an

understanding of their construction of reality. As Holstein and Gubrium contend 'interviewing provides a way of generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives' (in Silverman, 1997: 113). It permits the researcher to reconstruct events which have occurred and elicit information about the topic through what is essentially an extended discussion. On this subject Byrne comments:

Qualitative interviewing is particularly useful as a research method for accessing individuals' attitudes and values – things that cannot necessarily be observed or accommodated in a formal questionnaire. Open-ended and flexible questions are likely to get a more considered response than closed questions and therefore provide better access to interviewees' views, interpretation of events, understandings, experiences and opinions... (Qualitative interviewing) when done well is able to achieve a level of depth and complexity that is not available to other, particularly survey-based, approaches (2004: 182 in Silverman, 2001: 167).

The process of collecting interview data was divided into five stages. The first stage involved selecting interviewees and requesting an interview with them. The second stage consisted of organising a time and date for the interview and preparing question scripts. The third stage was the interview itself while the fourth stage involved the analysis of the data collected. Finally, the fifth stage was allocated to resolve any issues with interviewees and any queries regarding their interviews. Splitting the process into these five stages was purely for organisational clarity. As a means of maintaining flexibility, the interviews took a semi-structured format, with each interview averaging between 45 and 60 minutes; in total 59 people were interviewed. Although semi-structured interviews allow for a set of questions to be answered, they also permit any ideas, concepts and lines of inquiry to be followed up when necessary and give the interviewees the opportunity to expand and elaborate on any issues which present themselves during the interview. As Ruben and Ruben note, 'though the researcher initially establishes the general direction of the project, the conversational partners set the more specific path. Initial questions are expressed in a broad way to give the interviewees the opportunity to answer from their own experiences. The interviewees' answers, then suggests to the researcher what to pursue or what to ignore' (2005: 33). Throughout the interviews, the interview technique was constantly reviewed to ensure that the questions were not inappropriately leading the interviewees. Although, the main questions were

prepared prior to the interview, follow-up questions were asked in response to the interviewees answers given as a way of obtaining depth and detail and clearing up any inconsistencies. All interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis to ensure privacy, with the majority of interviews in Cocachimba held in the participants' homes, while interviewees with private and public sector employees took place in their place of work during a timeframe specified by them. All interviews were taped and later transcribed to ensure accuracy. Second interviews were carried out with a number of key government and local informants, to develop points mentioned previously or to explore new points which had arisen during the course of the research.

Both public and private sectors of the tourism industry were interviewed. Interviewing government employees provided information on the organisational structure of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism at both regional and national level, including data on future plans for the tourism sector in Peru, their goals and main objectives. As Moyser (1988: 107) notes 'elite individuals form a crucial group for understanding the character of society as a whole'. It is the elite members of society who are more often than not in positions of power, leadership roles or leading experts in their fields. Therefore, interviewing this particular group provided an opportunity to understand the motives behind policy-making and measures taken to implement these policies, as well as obtain an expert opinion on the issues in question. Additionally, under instances where authority was organised in a hierarchical manner, it was necessary to obtain the consent of the person 'at the top' to access sensitive documents or information, and/or in some cases lower-ranking staff members. Information from iperu Amazonas provided an understanding of the tourism industry in the region, its promotion as a tourist destination, the image it is trying to portray, on-going activities and local projects, including its role in bringing together public and private sectors of the tourism sector. Prior to interviewing government officials, it was necessary to make an appointment. Despite the majority initially offering a 30 minute time slot, all were happy for the interview to overrun or to be extended. In Chachapoyas, organising the meetings was done with relative ease and there were no cancelations. However, organising interviews in Lima with MINCETUR was slightly more complicated and had to be done through a gate-keeper. Also upon arriving in Lima, the interview was first postponed and then referred to a colleague of the original interviewee.

Interviewing tourism operators and guides offered an opportunity to understand how the industry functions at the grassroots, any problems surrounding the industry at this level and the collaboration and relationship between the private and public sector. Tourists were also asked about tourism in the region, if they felt they were contributing to the local economy and their perception of Peru and Amazonas as a tourist destination. Lastly, but by no means least, by interviewing community members, I was able to examine socio-economic structures within the village, the extent of grassroots participation, changing relationships within the community and any difficulties arising from the development of the tourism industry. The table below lists the various groups interviewed during the fieldwork.

Table 24 **List of Interviewees**

Groups Interviewed	Number of People Interviewed
Employees from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism (MINCETUR)	3
The regional directorate of Trade and Tourism, Amazonas, Peru (DICETUR)	2
Local politicians and employees of the Municipality de Chachapoyas	3
Local politicians and employees of the Municipality de Valera	2
NGOs operating in the research location (GIZ, Caritas, APECO) ³⁹	4
Iperu	1
Local tour operators and guides	5
Local residents in Cocachimba	31
Tourists	4
Others ⁴⁰	3

³⁹ On 1 January 2011 the NGO umbrella Deutsche Gesellschaft Für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) was established, uniting three major German development agencies: Deutschen Entwicklungsdienst (DED), Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung (InWEnt) and Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). When research started in May 2010, DED was operating in the Chachapoya area. Caritas is a federation of 165 Catholic relief, development and social services organisations and was established in 1897.

Asociación para la Conservación de la Naturaleza (APECO) was set up to support the conservation of nature in Peru in 1992 and operates throughout Peru.

⁴⁰ Others include a PhD in Anthropology, the explorer/engineer who ‘discovered’ the waterfall Gocta and the head of the department of Press, Culture and Tourism in Peru based at the embassy in London.

Table 25 Breakdown of Cocachimba Residents Interviewed

Interviewee	Gender	Age Group	Main Occupation of Household	Role in Tourism
Resident 1	Female	20 – 30	Farmer	Secretary
Resident 2	Female	20 – 30	Farmer	Secretary
Resident 3	Male	50 – 60	Farmer	Guide
Resident 4	Female	50 – 60	Farmer	Restaurateur
Resident 5	Female	30 – 40	Farmer	Restaurateur
Resident 6	Female	30 – 40	Farmer	---
Resident 7	Female	30 – 40	Farmer	Provides horses
Resident 8	Male	40 – 50	Construction worker/farmer	Construction Worker
Resident 9	Female	30 – 40	Farmer	---
Resident 10	Male	40 – 50	Politician	---
Resident 11	Female	40 – 50	Farmer	Restaurateur
Resident 12	Female	20 – 30	Farmer	Works in a Café
Resident 13	Female	40 – 50	Farmer	Guide
Resident 14a	Male	40 – 50	Farmer	Guide
Resident 14b	Male	40 – 50	Farmer	Guide
Resident 15	Female	50 – 60	Farmer	Cook
Resident 16	Male	30 – 40	Farmer	Guide
Resident 17	Female	20 – 30	Farmer	Cleaner
Resident 18	Female	20 – 30	Farmer	Cook
Resident 19	Male	40 – 50	Construction worker/farmer	Construction worker
Resident 20	Female	50 – 60	Cook/Cleaner	Cook/Cleaner
Resident 21	Female	30 – 40	Farmer	Guide
Resident 22	Female	40 – 50	Farmer	Guide
Resident 23	Female	30 – 40	Farmer	Cleaner
Resident 24	Female	20 – 30	Farmer	Restaurateur
Resident 25	Female	40 – 50	Farmer	Provides Horses
Resident 26	Female	30 – 40	Hotel Manager	Hotel Manager
Resident 27	Male	50 – 60	Farmer	Guide
Resident 28	Female	30 – 40	Farmer	Occasional Guide
Resident 29	Male	20 – 30	Farmer	President of the Tourism Association/Guide
Resident 30	Male	40 – 50	Councillor/farmer	---
Resident 31	Female	18 – 20	Secretary in the Tourism Association	Secretary in the Tourism Association

The majority of residents were born in Cocachimba and had lived there all their lives. However, there were some exceptions, with some of the women having married into the village and others having moved there following the arrival of tourism. The main

livelihood of residents was farming, with each household owning plots of farm land nestled in the hills surrounding the villages. There were very few residents who did not class themselves as farmers. A selection of age groups and occupations were interviewed to provide a thorough overall picture of the situation in Cocachimba.⁴¹ Although nobody under the age of 18 was interviewed for ethical reasons, there were very few adolescents in the village as most had left to attend secondary school in the neighbouring town of Pedro Ruíz. The interviewees selected represented the range of roles in tourism fulfilled by local residents. These varied from secretary, guide, cook, cleaner, construction worker to restaurateur. As indicated in the table above some of the residents interviewed did not participate in tourism. It was however important to interview both those involved in tourism and those who were not in order to provide a fair account of tourism development in the village and to take into consideration the views of all members of the community.

More women were interviewed than men for two reasons, (i) they were more willing to be interviewed and participate in research and (ii) they spent less time in the fields than the men and were therefore more available. The majority of men who participated in tourism worked mainly as guides or provided horses while the majority of women tended to work as cooks, cleaners or in tourism office. However there were some women who worked as guides or provided horses for the tourists.

Documentation

As Mason comments, 'the analysis of documentary sources is a major method of social research and one which many qualitative researchers see as meaningful and appropriate in the context of their research strategy' (1996: 71). Documentation has the potential to inform us a great deal about how and why events were constructed as well as provide materials upon which future research can be based (May, 1997: 157).

According to May:

Documents, as the sedimentations of social practices, have the potential to inform and structure the decisions which people make on a daily and longer-term basis; they also constitute particular readings of social events. They tell us about the aspirations and intentions of the period to which they refer and describe places and social relationships at a

⁴¹ Residents were placed into age categories to avoid offence, especially with the older generation. The age categories were 18 – 20, 20 – 30, 30 – 40, 40 – 50, 50 – 60 and 60 – 70.

time when we may not have been born, or were simply not present (1997: 157 – 158).

Documentation needs to be approached in an engaged manner, using our own cultural understandings to connect with ‘meanings which are embedded in the document itself’ (May, 1997: 163). This emphasis on hermeneutics submits the researcher to analyse the ‘differences between their own frames of meanings and those found in the text’ (May, 1997: 163), examining and locating it in its social and political context. Documents are also of interest not just for what they contain but what they leave out. Importantly, ‘they do not simply reflect, but also construct social reality and version of events’ (May, 1997: 164).

For the purpose of this research, documentation was chosen as a means of corroborating and supplementing data from other sources. Official sources allow for inferences to be made from their findings, creating new leads for exploration, thus further expanding the research. When assessing the quality of the information available from documentation, Scott’s (1990) proposed criteria has been taken into consideration. These include: authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (Scott, 1990 in May, 1997: 169). In terms of this project, documentation was used as a means of providing information on the following;

- The Peruvian tourism industry, in particular tourism in the department of Amazonas.
- National and regional government policies and objectives regarding tourism development.
- The structure and development of MINCETUR and DICETUR.
- Tourism statistics.

Participant Observation

Participant observation has long been associated with social science, especially among researchers influenced by social anthropology. The term participant observation is used to ‘refer to methods of generating data which involve the researcher immersing himself or herself in a research setting, and systematically observing dimensions of that setting, interactions, relationships, actions, events and so, within it’ (Mason, 1997: 60). Participant observation was employed as a method of data collection to provide additional information on the research area through fully

immersing in the day-to-day activities of the target group, as well as observing their behavioural and environmental surroundings. It also allows for flexibility, enabling the researcher to reflect and alter the focus of observations in accordance with analytic developments. May posits that only by becoming part of that environment can they 'understand the actions of people who occupy and produce cultures, defined as the symbolic and learned aspects of human behaviour which include customs and language' (1997: 134). It is argued that this method for conducting research is 'least likely to lead to researchers imposing their own reality on the social world they seek to understand' (May, 1997: 134). The success of participant observation is dependent on the researcher being accepted to some degree into the target group or organisation. However, as Bruyn points out, 'the participant observer who studies a complex social organisation must be aware of the fact that clearance at one level of the organisation does not insure clearance at another level. It is very important that the researcher takes into account the levels of power and decision-making extant in the group' (Bruyn, 1966: 204).

Becker's (1979) four stages of analysis were applied to the participant observation carried out during the time spent in the field. As May explains the overall aim of Becker's stages of analyses is to allow for 'the categorisation of collected data in order that the events, relationships and interactions observed may be understood or explained within the context of a developed theoretical framework' (1997: 147). Becker's first stage involves the selection and definition of problems, concepts and indices. During this phase, the researcher investigates issues and concepts in their research location, which in turn enables them to develop an understanding of the social setting. The second stage focuses on the frequency and distribution of phenomena, identifying events that are typical or widespread and examining how they are distributed among categories of people and organisational sub-units. The construction of a social system model is the third stage of analysis but also the last stage that occurs whilst in the field. Here the researcher incorporates individual findings into a generalised model of the social system, phenomena or organisation under investigation. The final stage involves the withdrawal from the field and the analysis and writing-up of the results (Becker, 1979 in May, 1997: 147 – 151).

With the help of GIZ, DICETUR and the municipality of Chachapoyas, access was gained to regional, local and community government meetings,

workshops and projects carried out by NGOs operating in the area.⁴² During the aforementioned events all parties were made aware of why I was attending and a log book was kept to record primary observations. Reflections were written after the occasion into the log book. Participant observation provided direct access to events and an invaluable foundation for gaining the trust of interviewees, as well as developing interview questions. The trust gained during this time made it much easier to conduct interviews later and encouraged people to open up during the interviews. Also, on many occasions issues which had previously been overlooked came to light during these sessions and were later able to be explored through interviewing the relevant people. It is important to note that what was observed during this time was subject to my interpretation of events based on my knowledge of the topic and the context from which it emerged. The main ways in which the participant observation technique was applied included:

- Attending community, tourism committee or institutional meetings.
- Chatting with both women and men regarding their activities and attitudes towards tourism.
- Becoming an active tourist (walking the trail to Gocta as part of a guided tour).
- Taking part in workshops run in the community

Method of Analysis

Richie and Spencer's (1994) five stage framework was used when analysing data collected when in the field. The strength of a framework approach is that 'by following a well-defined procedure, it is possible to reconsider and rework ideas precisely because the analytical process has been well documented and is therefore accessible' (Richie and Spencer, 1994: 177). The data collected through qualitative methods is invariably unstructured, consisting of transcriptions of interviews or discussions, field notes and other written documents. Therefore, the qualitative researcher 'has to provide some coherence and structure to this cumbersome data set while retaining a hold of the original accounts and observations from which it is derived' (Richie and Spencer, 1994: 176). Qualitative analysis is fundamentally about detection. Consequently, the method applied should facilitate the researcher in

⁴² See Appendix Eight for photographs taken during workshops.

defining, categorising, theorising, explaining, exploring and mapping the data. This is shown in the box below:

Figure 2 **Aspects to Qualitative Data Analysis**

- Defining concepts: Understanding internal structures
- Mapping the range: Nature and dynamics of phenomena
- Creating typologies: Categorising different types of attitudes, behaviours, motivations etc.
- Finding associations: Between experiences and attitudes, between attitudes and behaviours, between circumstances and motivations etc.
- Seeking explanations: Explicit or implicit
- Developing new ideas: Theories or strategies

(Richie and Spencer, 1994: 176)

The first stage of analysis was ‘familiarisation’. This entailed reading and rereading transcripts and field notes taken as well as making notes on recurrent themes and issues. As Richie and Spencer note that ‘before beginning the process of sifting and sorting data, the researcher must become familiar with their range and diversity, must gain an overview of the body of material gathered’ (1994: 178). This process was helped by the transcribing of interview recordings, during which time the data became more familiar. During this stage ‘the analyst is not only gaining an overview of the richness, depth and diversity of the data, but also beginning the process of abstraction and conceptualisation’ (Richie and Spencer, 1994: 179). The second stage involved the development of a thematic framework with which to organise the information collected. Therefore, ‘once the selected material has been reviewed, the analyst returns to the research notes, and attempts to identify the key issues, concepts and themes according to which the data can be examined and referenced’ (Richie and Spencer, 1994: 179). Prior issues which originally informed the interview aims, emergent issues raised by the respondents themselves and analytical themes arising from recurring views and experiences are all drawn upon when identifying and constructing a framework. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed for a pre-existing structure, with the questions providing some kind of framing. The third stage elaborated on the thematic framework established through the coding and index of data. This was done by marking and colour coordinating each of the transcripts, picking key themes and grouping them together. Colour was used as an easy visual aid to identify selected themes and also index headings were recorded on the margins

of each transcript to clarify the theme. During the fourth stage, the material gathered was charted as a means of developing an overall picture of the research by bringing together all the separate themes. Data were taken from their original content and rearranged by thematic reference. During the fifth stage, the information was interpreted, with ideas formulated through the connection of themes and patterns. As Richie and Spencer conclude 'when all the data have been shifted and charted according to core themes, the analyst begins to pull together key characteristics of the data, and to map and interpret the data set as a whole. Although emergent categories, associations and patterns will have been noted and recorded during the indexing and charting phases, the serious and systematic process of detection now begins' (1994: 186).

Ethics

The fact that a plethora of ethical issues arise when carrying out research meant that it was vital that they were factored into this study. In considering the ethical concerns surrounding this research Christians (2000) four fundamental considerations were taken into account: consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality and accuracy.

Informed consent ensured that the target group were fully conversant with the nature and purpose of the research and gave their full consent to participate. From the outset, participants were given all appropriate information regarding the context of the research so that they were able to make a properly informed decision as to whether they wished to participate. When carrying out participation observation, I used key informants (NGO workers and community leaders) to gain access to the community and notify those present of my intentions, methods, research goals as well as asking their permission to carry out the participant observation. It was made clear to the participants that they were under no obligation to collaborate. However, after spending a year in the community, giving them the opportunity to become familiar with me, there was no need to rely on key informants.

The second aspect, deception, guaranteed that the fieldwork was carried out without deceiving its participants. Potential informants were informed, in a manner and in a language (in this case Spanish) that they understood, of the context, purpose, nature, methods and procedures of the research. Individuals were also notified that they had the right to withdraw at any point, with the information provided removed from the study and to contact the researcher at any point should any issues arise.

The third, privacy and confidentiality, made sure that all possible safeguards were put in place to protect identities and the source of material gathered. All participants were assured that they would remain anonymous and their confidentiality respected. They were made aware of the measures employed to ensure that the information accumulated stays confidential, unless otherwise given permission to disclose their origin by the participant. I created a key and gave each participant who had chosen to remain anonymous a pseudonym, which was stored on a password protected laptop. All audio recordings were transferred on to a MP3 file and saved onto a USB, which along with field notes were locked away. During this process all efforts were made to avoid any undue intrusion into the lives of individuals or the community. The research was carried out in full compliance with, and awareness of, local customs, standards, laws and regulations. Lastly, accuracy ensures that all data collected is not fraudulent or fabricated. All interviews were recorded to ensure that all information collected was genuine and faithful to its source.

In order to remove any significant bias from the project, it was prudent that I acknowledge any conditions that could possibly influence this research. As the research was being conducted via a case study strategy, the potential risk existed that the methodology could be used to substantiate a preconceived position. Also, given the flexibility of the case study approach and the fact that major and minor changes had to be made as the research progressed, it was vital that these changes were acknowledged to help maintain an unbiased perspective.

During the period of fieldwork, I decided that I would be based in both Chachapoyas and Cocachimba. I felt it was necessary to be based in both locations as it was important to be close to all the regional government institutions and NGOS who were operating out of Chachapoyas, whilst also remaining close to the community of Cocachimba in order to build a relationship with residents and carry out a thorough investigation of tourism development in the village. Additionally, the location of the case study was changed from the capital of Bongará, San Pablo de Valera, to the annex of Cocachimba. Despite both villages having access to the waterfall, Cocachimba received more visitors and possessed a better infrastructure for tourism. The fact that residents came into contact with tourists on a regular basis, as well as other outsiders, made it easier to enter the village, establish rapport and conduct subsequent interviews. Furthermore, it enabled me to use a development

worker from GIZ as a ‘gatekeeper’ as they were undergoing joint projects in Cocachimba with DICETUR at this time.

The power imbalances between researcher and research subjects also needed to be taken into consideration. Scheyvens, Novak and Scheyvens note that ‘whether we like it or not, the nature of much Development Studies research means that we will be in a position of power in relation to most of our participants’ (2003: 149). Therefore, interaction between the research subjects and the research community needs to be continually monitored in order to avoid it affecting how the data was received and processed. The main social cleavages which had to be taken into consideration were class, race and gender. As an outsider, or ‘*gringa*’ entering a small village, residents were automatically weary of why I was there.⁴³ Despite repeatedly explaining the purpose of my visits to the area, many residents assumed that I was part of DICETUR or GIZ, given that I frequently travelled with them to the research location. Only after a period of time and many questions later did they understand I was independent of these organisations. As time progressed and relationships were made with residents, the main issue I encountered was their overgenerous nature and refusal to let me pay for food and accommodation; only after clear insistence on my part, did they finally accepted payment. During the many visits to the village, I was frequently offered *aguardiente*, *panela* and other sugar cane based drinks, as well as an abundance of fruit.

In terms of the gender dimension, I found that in many instances, especially in Cocachimba, it was advantageous to be a woman. Many interviewees were less suspicious of talking to a female rather than a male and also felt they could open up more and talk for longer. Many of the female participants interviewed were shy and used to their husbands taking a more leading role; however many of them were able to relax more during the interviews, feeling that they were just having a chat with another female. Given that ninety per cent of villagers followed the evangelical church, the village followed strict regulations with alcohol. Although alcohol was sold in Cocachimba, residents were teetotal and tended to frown upon its consumption. Given the strong views expressed, despite at times being offered alcohol by non-residents, I kept my alcohol consumption to a minimum in order to avoid offence and gain a bad reputation amongst the villagers.

⁴³ In Peru the term ‘*gringo/a*’ is used to refer to foreigners of North American or European nationality.

In the Field: Structure of the Research, Conditions and Experiences

Upon starting fieldwork initially I decided to split my time in Peru into two phrases, with the first phrase lasting 5 months and the second 6 months. However, during the second phase an opportunity arose after a meeting with the mayor to enter the Chachapoyas municipality as a volunteer and this resulted in a third stage being undertaken, extending the time spent in the field by three months.

The first visit to Chachapoyas occurred between May-September 2010, during which time a pilot scheme was undertaken. The reasoning behind this was twofold. Firstly, the region was previously unknown to me and secondly, I had no contacts and would therefore be starting fieldwork from scratch. The first objective during this phase was to get to know the region and locate a community suitable for my research. I consequently visited Gocta waterfall, Huancas, which has one of the best viewpoints overlooking the valley, Kueláp, the Sarcofogas at Karajia, the Valley of the Dead and the small town of Leymebamba. Thus my first visit to the research location was as a tourist and local travel agencies were used to visit the aforementioned sites. The second aim was to make as many contacts as possible that could help me gain access to the local community, government institutions and non-governmental organisations. The third goal was to gather as much documentation as possible on the history of the region, its plans for development and tourism, as well as regional and national tourism strategies, objectives and plans. My introduction to DICETUR and DED came through a local 'gatekeeper' who is heavily involved in the tourism sector (having her own tourist agency) and also in sustainable and ethical projects within the region. Fortunately, my arrival coincided with DICETUR/DED plans to launch a project in San Pablo de Valera and Cocachimba centred on promoting sustainable tourism development. Invited by DICETUR and DED, I was able to observe the project and travel with them to both villages. Through working with DICETUR and DED, I gained access to the community, other government institutions (such as iPeru) and documentation produced by the regional government. Also, I was able to travel around the area attending meetings with local mayors and workshops organised by DICETUR and iPeru. The fourth objective was to conduct a number of pilot interviews to build up a picture of the questions that would need to be addressed. In addition a number of informal chats and discussions took places during this time. The last aim was to gain as much knowledge about the region,

reviewing the main issues that are occurring and to contextualise my research within them.

The second stage, which took place from January 2010 until June 2010, had two main objectives. These were to carry out a period of participant observation in Cocachimba and conduct interviews. It was during this phase that interviews were carried out in Chachapoyas, Cocachimba, and Lima, with employees of MINCETUR, DICETUR, local politicians, tour operators and guides, local residents and NGO workers. During the research period, one-day field visits were made to the research location approximately twice a week to observe meetings with the local community, workshops being carried out by DICETUR, MINCETUR and the DED. However, during the final eight to ten weeks visits to Cocachimba were increased to three to four times a week in order to complete the interviewing schedule. One of the main problems which occurred during the interview process was getting hold of people, because many would rise early to walk to their fields, where they would spend all day cultivating the land until dusk. Even though the majority of the villagers are involved in tourism in one way or another, all still maintain subsistence farming activities. Another outcome of this was that more women than men were interviewed due to the fact that they tended to be at home more frequently. Also there were more women than men in the village as many had migrated to Chachapoyas, Pedro Ruiz, Lima or other neighbouring provinces before the 'discovery' of Gocta.

Participant observation presented the opportunity to observe a number of occurring events and embodied practices which cannot always be transmitted through interviews. By involving myself in situations of interest, I was able to develop ideas and focus on themes which arose during the process. Key to the participant observation was the keeping of a log book in which events, ideas and notes were recorded, not only as a way of recording information, but also as means of reflexivity. Through observing the local community I was able to reach a certain level of familiarity with its residents and some of the people interviewed. This allowed me to build a picture of their social/economic situation, as well as their family life and background. During the frequent visits, villagers also had the opportunity to ask me questions about my life; this (along with the information I had gathered about them) put the interviewees at ease and often before starting the interviews an informal chat would take place regarding their family life. It was

important for me to take the time to get to know the community on a personal level and to build up some kind of relationship. What I did not want was to simply enter the community, conduct my interviews and then leave. Therefore, I good deal of effort was made during the early months of the fieldwork to achieve the desired level of rapport.

The third phase of the fieldwork took place between July and the end of September 2011. Although initially not planned, the extension on my time in the field occurred as a result of some interviews conducted in the Chachapoyas municipality, after which I was invited to become a volunteer in the newly established Department for Tourism and the Environment. My main role was to assist the on-going projects to organise and formalise tour agencies in the city, create a profile of tourists to the area and help formulate a strategic plan for the development of tourism in the city during 2012.

Chapter 3

Sustainable Tourism and Sustainable Development

Sustainable development is in real danger of becoming a cliché like appropriate technology – a fashionable phrase that everybody pays homage to but nobody cares to define (Lélé, 1991: 607).

Introduction

As one of the major economic and social phenomena of the last century, tourism has become an integrated part of modern society. Graburn describes tourism as ‘one of those necessary structured breaks from ordinary life which characterises all human societies’ (1983: 11). It offers an opportunity to move away from normal behaviour that surrounds ‘ordinary life’ and enter into a period of relaxation during which mental, expressive and cultural needs come to the forefront. For MacCannell (1979) it is also a form of modern ritual, whereby sightseeing has now become the modern day version of a pilgrimage to visit ‘holy’ places whereby people can escape mundane life. Sold as the ‘great escape’, far away destinations are portrayed in glossy holiday brochures as ‘paradise’ offering tourists a unique experience. The exotic is amplified and destinations romanticised, whilst flattering illustrations are used to disguise the evident poverty in many host nations (Britton, 1979).

For low-income countries with few development options, a weak industrial sector, limited natural resources and/or dependence on international aid, tourism is considered an economic panacea. International tourism offers an economic alternative over reliance on traditional and primary sectors, such as agriculture. Since the resurgence of neo-liberal economics in the 1980s and the increased emphasis on free-market policies and outward oriented development strategies, tourism has been heavily promoted, representing one of the few viable options available to secure much needed foreign exchange and overseas investment. Given the possible benefits of tourism, it is therefore unsurprising that it is viewed as ‘both a vehicle and a symbol at least of Westernisation, but also, more importantly, of progress and modernisation’ (Roche, 1992: 566 in Sharpley and Telfer, 2002: 13). Tourism is viewed as an attractive venture for the following reasons:

- As a means of redistributing wealth from poorer to richer countries/regions. Redistribution occurs through both tourist expenditure in host countries and investment in infrastructure by tourist-generating countries.
- Tourism does not suffer from the same barriers involving other forms of international trade, such as quotas or tariffs.
- International tourism is forecast to continue growing in the future.
- Tourism has low start-up costs, as many of the basic resources needed already exist and does not have to seek out capital investment. Many of the tourist attractions rely on the country's natural resources, such as climate or geography, as well as historic sites.
- Tourism offers the opportunity for backward linkages in the local economy. Given the nature of the industry and the variety of goods and service involved, there is the potential for other sectors to benefit from tourism.
- Tourism has very few labour issues as it tends to bypass all social relations that could be problematic.

Defining Tourism

Since the emergence of mass tourism in the post - Second World War period, there has been a concerted effort by scholars to define 'tourism'. One of the principal reasons why it is so difficult to reach an understanding is because 'tourism' as a term, is subject to diverse interpretations and therefore varies 'according to the underlying purpose for the definition' (Burns and Holden, 1995: 5). Sharpley (2002) argues that for this reason 'it is unrealistic to search for a single, all embracing, holistic definition' (Sharpley in Sharpley and Telfer, 2002: 22).

Due to its problematic nature, the discourse surrounding the definition of tourism has become increasingly complex as scholars seek to provide an explanation that encompasses all aspects of tourism. This is displayed in the wide variety of definitions and descriptions found in the literature, reflecting both the multidisciplinary character of the topic and the abstract nature of the concept of 'tourism'. From an academic and practical prospective it is important, despite these difficulties, to devise a working definition of tourism 'in order to establish parameters for research content' (Gee, Makens and Choy, 1997 in Theobald, 2005: 8).

Burkhardt and Medlik (1974) break down tourism definitions into two types; (i) technical definitions, which tend to identify the different types of tourists and tourist activities (such as adventure, luxury or package tourism) and (ii) conceptual approaches, which define tourism from an anthropological slant, examining the motivation for travel and the tourist her/himself. As Burkhardt and Medlik note:

In endeavouring to define tourism it is useful to distinguish between the *concept* and the *technical definitions*. The concept provides a notional, theoretical framework, which identifies the essential characteristics, and which distinguishes between tourism from similar, often related but different phenomena. Technical definitions ... provide instruments for particular statistical, legislative and industrial purposes (1974: 39 in Leiper, 1979: 394).

One of the first definitions was produced by the League of Nations Statistical Committee in 1939. Using an economic framework, it described an international tourist as someone who 'visits a country other than that in which he habitually lives for a period of at least twenty-four hours' (OECD, 1974: 7, in Leiper, 1979: 393). Although this explanation included those travelling for business, pleasure or health purposes, it failed to include domestic tourism. In 1963, a United Nations sponsored conference in Rome on travel and tourism, introduced the word 'visitor' into the tourism lexicon. The word 'visitor', 'describes any person visiting a country other than that in which he has his usual place of residence' (Leiper, 1979: 393). This definition covers; (i) tourists: 'temporary visitors staying at least twenty-four hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings: leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion and sport) and business, family, mission, meeting'; (ii) excursionists; and or 'temporary visitors, staying less than twenty-four hours in the country visited (including travellers on cruise ships)' (Leiper, 1979: 393).

Contemporary tourism scholarship has been organised by two approaches, technical and conceptual, which represent two extremes of a definition continuum (Buck, 1978). Although these definitions address the issue of the tourist as an individual and its activities, little attention is paid to the tourism 'system', which examines the structure of tourism itself, its backward linkages and its impact. Therefore, a more holistic approach is needed in order to embrace both the factual and theoretical perspectives of tourism (Buck, 1978). Leiper (1979) identifies three traditional approaches to a definition of tourism: an economic, a technical and a

holistic. The economic approach, he argues, recognises the economic or business implications of tourism, but fails to acknowledge the human element, i.e. the tourist and spatial or temporal elements within its description. The technical approach, which addresses the technical element of tourism, was developed as a means of monitoring the size and characteristics of the sector and focuses on three main elements; purpose of trip, distance travelled and duration of visit. Thirdly, 'holistic definitions attempt to embrace "the whole" essence of the subject' (Leiper, 1979: 394), recognising the many facets of tourism, which fundamentally centre around one principle, the tourist.

When offering a holistic definition, Jafari defines tourism as, 'the study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both he and the industry have on the host's socio-cultural, economic and physical environments' (1977: 8). However, Jafari's description of a tourist is too broad, according to Leiper, as '[it] ignores factors of distance, duration and purpose, and the concentration on host regions ignores the fact that spatially tourism necessitates a second region to supply a tourist inflow' (1979: 394). Also questionable is Jafari's choice of the use of the word industry given that tourism does not produce or manufacture anything. Moreover, instead of creating wealth it is transferred from the tourist to those involved in tourism.

Leiper argues that there should be three basic elements to a definition. The first is the human element; the second concerns the geographical element while the third involves the resources used in the tourism process. Using this holistic premise, Leiper defines tourism as:

The system involving the discretionary travel and temporary stay of persons away from their usual place of residence for one or more nights, except tours made for the primary purpose of earning remuneration from points en route. The elements of the system are tourists, generating regions, transit routes, destinations regions and a tourist industry. These five elements are arranged in spatial and functional connections. Having the characteristics of an open system, the organisation of five elements operates within the broader environments: physical, cultural, social, economic, political, technical, with which it interacts (1979: 403 – 404).

Therefore, for the purpose of this research tourism is defined as a social activity that takes people away from their ordinary life and routine workaday. It involves the

travel of peoples outside their usual environment, both domestically and internationally, at least for one night or more, but less than one year. It is an activity that is not remunerated by the destination visited, but its purpose is for leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion and sport), business, family, missions or meetings. The visit involves interaction between people and places of differing social and culture norms, which are brought together and impact upon the host communities' socio-cultural, economic and physical environments. Tourism then is a recognised economic activity that through backward linkages and the multiplier effect has created an industry that provides transport, accommodation, recreation, food and other related services that contribute to the needs of tourists.

Tourism and Development Theory

Although development theory and tourism have evolved along similar time lines since the end of the Second World War, there has been little work connecting the two fields (Telfer in Sharpley and Telfer, 1996). Using the theories of Jafar (1990), Oppermann (1993) and Clarke (1997), the context in which sustainable tourism development evolved can be understood.

Jafari's (1990) work discusses the evolution of tourism in a historical context, arguing that the platforms of tourism research have developed in recent decades in four stages: advocacy, cautionary, adaptancy, and knowledge-based. The advocacy platform stressed the economic benefits of tourism and its contribution to generating foreign exchange. This platform represented the modernisation paradigm, resulting in much of the tourism research during this period concentrating on its role in economic development and its potential to offer a viable economic alternative. As development theory progressed, moving on to dependency theory, researchers turned their attention to the negative aspects of tourism and introduced the cautionary platform in the 1960s, which questioned the socio-economic benefits of tourism and the impact of tourism on host communities. Advocating a high degree of public sector intervention, the cautionary platform paralleled an increase in environmental awareness and dissatisfaction with current economic development (Dowling, 1992: 34).

It was during the 1980s that the alternative development paradigm found its way into tourism literature as a synthesis was sought between the two standpoints that alleviated the negative impacts while enhancing the positive (Hawkins and

Mann, 2006). The adaptancy platform encouraged the consideration of modes of tourism that would have a more positive impact on host communities and the environment and strongly advocated community involvement and community ownership in tourism development. According to Dowling (1992: 39), the early 1980s represented a period of idealism as attempts were made to promote tourism in a manner that was compatible with the environment. It was during the adaptancy platform that alternatives to mass tourism, such as eco-tourism, green tourism, small scale tourism, began to emerge. The fourth stage, introduced in the 1990s, represented the knowledge-based platform. Initiated as a means of understanding the complexities involved in the tourism industry, this approach 'attempted to fill an intellectual void' (Dann, 1996: 7 in Sharpley, 1998: 42). Through drawing on contributions from a range of disciplines, Jafari's fourth platform sought to underpin the theoretical aspect of tourism research. As Dowling (1992: 39) notes, it was during this stage that idealism was replaced with realism and conflicts between tourism, the environment and cultures was accepted as being inevitable; the emphasis was now on cooperation and understanding how they occur.

Although Jafari's work is seen as an important step towards conceptualising tourism scholarship, it has also been criticised for failing to consider ethics and the question of sustainability (Macbeth, 2005). According to Macbeth, 'the inadequacy derives from the blind-spot toward the concept of sustainable development and the increasing need to account for ethics in decision-making (2005: 964). Even the 2001 version of Jafari's work failed to address the concepts surrounding sustainable development and its potential new dimension to scholarship. According to Macbeth, the fact that tourism and development are now firmly part of the concept of sustainable development makes it is essential that sustainability is incorporated into the rhetoric, adding, 'this platform needs to be labelled for no other reason than that no theory can now afford to disregard sustainability as a core concept and still claim to be comprehensive' (2005: 966). This stance is also evident in the works of Cohen, (2002), Collins, (1998), Hardy, Beeton and Pearson, (2002), Holden, (2003) and Hunter, (1997). This growth in the literature demonstrates the recognition that 'a fifth platform is already informing much of the current research and scholarship' (Macbeth, 2005: 973). Macbeth argues that a sixth platform is needed to 'develop the self awareness of scholars and practitioners with regard to their ethical positions and the implications of those positions for sustainable development and tourism'

(Macbeth, 2005: 973). If tourism is to ever play a serious role in sustainable development then it must have a firm ethical position and establish a set of standards in which ethics have a central role.

Most literature on tourism research has emerged since the 1960s and has paralleled the evolution of development theory but there have been few attempts to draw on development theory, exceptions being Britton, (1982), Lea, (1988), Pearce, (1989), de Kadt, (1992) and Opperman, (1993), Brohman, (1996), Clancy, (1999) and Sharpley and Telfer, (2002). Through the promotion of tourism in developing countries, tourism studies have become engaged in the modernisation versus dependency debate. To date, the modernisation paradigm continues to underlie the rationale behind tourism-induced development, despite recent development thinking. This is largely because of its perceived contribution to economic growth, foreign exchange earnings and national balance of payments. As Sharpley posits:

It is highly unlikely that any destination would willingly 'invite' large numbers of people to visit or tolerate the inevitable consequences, such as environmental degradation or the disruption to the daily life of local communities were it not for the benefits that potentially accrue from the development of tourism (2002: 1).

Oppermann's paradigms provide an insight into how tourism theories developed as a reaction to economic factors. According to Oppermann, tourism theories have developed among the two prominent paradigms to emerge by the post Second World War period; the diffusionist and dependency perspective (1993: 536). Within the diffusionist paradigm, two theories emerged. The first was development stage theory. Based on the notion of a 'unilinear transformation along the development continuum of economic and social change' (Browett, 1982: 63), it argued that underdeveloped countries are in an earlier stage of the development process but will eventually develop along similar lines to the Euro-American experience (Browett, 1982: 63). The second theory to emerge was diffusion theory and was centred on the trickle - down effect from more developed to less developed areas which will, after the initial polarisation, lead to an adjustment in regional disparities. However, in order to effectively eradicate backwardness growth poles (cities or economic sectors with high connectivity) need to be established. It was Christaller (1964) who first considered tourism as a growth pole, positing 'nowadays, tourism gives the

economically underdeveloped regions a chance to develop themselves for these very regions interest the tourists' (1964: 104).

The dependency theory has influenced much tourism research, emphasising the negative aspects of tourism on host destinations. International tourism 'has evolved in a way which closely matches historical patterns of colonialism and economic dependency' (Lea, 1988: 2). For example, the incorporation of the package tour, whilst substantially reducing the cost and travel and broadening the potential tourist market, 'created a new source of surplus generation by giving maximum opportunity for tourism companies to control tourist expenditure' (Britton, 1982: 336). Britton (1982) figured among the first to relate tourism to dependency, arguing that when addressing the debate surrounding tourism development it is important to consider both the historical and political aspects that shape development. Whilst tourism has brought undoubted benefits to many developing countries, it has also perpetuated class and regional inequalities, economic problems and social tensions. It is the 'underlying mechanisms inherent both in the tourist industry and Third World economies that make the promotion of tourism a highly ambiguous development strategy' (Britton, 1982: 332). Instead of reducing pre-existing socio-economic disparities found in developing countries, tourism through its enclavic structure actually reinforces them. Tourism, it is posited, is yet another industry which is used as a tool by developed countries to proliferate the dependency of developing countries (Oppermann, 1993: 540). As Britton (1982) observes, it is generally tourism companies in the developed world who have the first contact with tourism, allowing them to shape tourists perceptions and thus, giving them a vital advantage.

The promotion and advertising strategies of metropolitan tourism corporations plays a significant role in shaping tourist expectations. Tourists expect and appreciate the type of tourist product and travel experience that suits the priorities of tourism firms. These priorities in turn are the key determinants of the type of tourist facilities developed in the Third World tourist destinations. These are often luxuriously appointed, capital and energy intensive hotel resorts: the type that poor countries can least afford to build and operate because of their import requirements. Not surprisingly, since such facilities are best planned, constructed, and managed by those tourism firms with international experience, there is every incentive for metropolitan corporations to invest in, and of course profit from, Third World tourism. (Britton, 1982: 339 - 340).

Furthermore, the establishment of an international tourist industry in peripheral countries, 'will not occur from evolutionary, organic processes within that economy, but from demand from overseas tourists and new foreign company investment, or from the extension of foreign interests already present in that country' (Britton, 1982: 336 - 337). Thus, organisation and ownership of the industry will more often than not be under the control of western based multinational corporations, who concentrate and centralise their commercial power within the metropolitan tourism capital. Also, as Matthews and Richter (1991: 132) point out, the fact that the majority of the world's disposable income comes from metropolitan countries creates economic dependency. Any disruption to tourism flows from these countries drastically effects host destination and demonstrates their dependency on tourism. 'The spatial concentration of international tourism in developing countries, combined with the typical standardization of the tourism product in mass tourism' (Oppermann, 1993: 540) has resulted in the domination of foreign owned export enclaves and the replication of structures of dependency. As Britton notes, 'in physical and socio-psychological terms, then, tourism in a peripheral economy can be conceptualised as an enclave industry. Tourist arrival points in the periphery are typically the primary urban centres of ex-colonies now functioning as political economic centres of independent countries' (Britton: 1982: 341). Consequently, there are a number of common problems that have been linked to tourism as a component in development strategies. These include foreign domination and dependency, substantial overseas leakage of tourism earnings, fluctuating earnings, socioeconomic and spatial polarisation, environmental destruction, cultural alienation, alongside the loss of social control and identity among host communities (Brohman, 1996: 48) as well as the commercialisation of culture.

The resurgence of neo-liberal economics during the 1980s has been reflected in the noticeable shift from inward to outward orientated growth strategies within development thinking. Increasingly in development literature international tourism is being grouped together with other export oriented industries, such as non traditional and agricultural exports, as a major new growth sector. This increased pressure on developing countries to adopt outward oriented development strategies has contributed to a new emphasis 'on the expansion of hitherto ignored sectors such as international tourism' (Brohman, 1996: 49). Consequently, tourism is increasingly being promoted by neo-liberal development theorists as an important source of

outward-oriented growth and economic diversification away from a few traditional exports in those low-income countries that lack any other real possibility for rapid industrialisation (Brohman, 1996: 48).

Tourism and its Relationship with Sustainable Development

Since the early 1990s, 'sustainable development has become the watch-word for international agencies, the jargon of development planners, the theme of conferences and learned papers and the slogan of development and environmental activists' (Lélé, 1991: 607). As Adams notes, 'the use of the term 'sustainable development' reflects in particular the prominence at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first about the problem of acute global poverty and global environmental degradation' (2001: 20). With its broad-based support, the concept has become the latest development paradigm and represents a shift from conventional economic development towards a more holistic economic approach that incorporates environmental concern into its rhetoric. The fundamental bottom line of the concept revolves around the two-way interaction between the economy and environment as 'the economy is not separate from the environment in which we live in' (Pearce, Markandya and Barbier, 1989: 4).

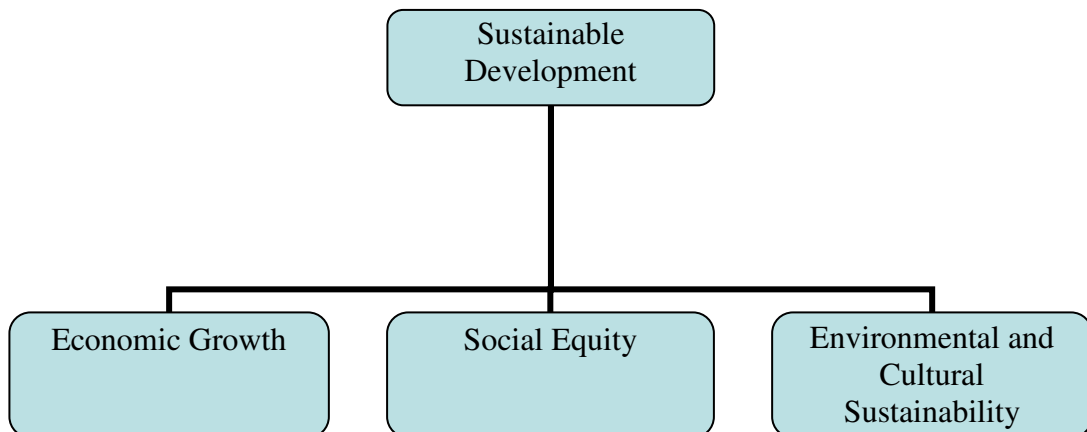
The sustainable development paradigm arose in response to criticisms of mainstream economic based development models. Unlike previous perspectives which were western-centric and top-down, the sustainable development approach offered a broad-based, bottom-up strategy, embracing human and environmental concerns. However, it was the Brundtland Report in 1987 which brought sustainable development firmly into the political arena. The report claimed that critical global environmental problems were primarily the result of the enormous poverty in the South and the non-sustainable patterns of consumption and production in the North. As a result, the main issue faced by the committee was how to unite the worlds concern for the environment with its hunger for economic development and growth. Drawing upon environmental economics, the Brundtland report argued that development and environmental concerns could not be separated as 'poverty is a major cause and effect of global environmental problems', adding that 'it is therefore, futile to attempt to deal with environmental problems without a broader perspective that encompasses the factors underlying world poverty and international inequality' (WCED, 1987: 19). What was needed, it argued, was a new development

strategy that was both socially and environmentally sustainable but yet encouraged economic growth. Environmental issues needed to be integrated into central economic decision making processes with environmental protection no longer viewed as a threat to development and growth or as a luxury for rich countries. This new approach, labelled as sustainable development, was defined as ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (WCED, 1987: 24). Based upon two key concepts, the Brundtland report contended that sustainable development should be directed towards meeting the needs of all, extending to everyone the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations for a better life. Secondly, development should occur within the ‘limitations imposed by the present state technology and social organisation on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities’ (WCED, 1987: 24) and thereby address the issues of poverty and global inequality through continued and sustained economic growth.

With its broad-based support, the concept represents a shift from conventional economic development towards a more holistic economic approach that incorporates environmental concern into its rhetoric. This grassroots approach is now widely accepted as the latest rhetoric in development thinking and encompasses four dimensions, which, when applied to policy and development decision making attempt to provide a holistic approach to the development of societies. The first concern is ecological sustainability, which ‘requires that development be compatible with the self-maintenance and self-direction of ecological processes, biological diversity and biological resources’ (Macbeth, 2005: 966). The second is social sustainability understood as the strengthening of community cohesion and identity, along with an increase in control people have over their lives. The third focus, cultural sustainability, emphasises the preservation of local cultures and practices. Lastly, economic sustainability advocates that development should be economically efficient and that all costs and benefits derived from it be shared equally (Macbeth, 2005).

Figure 3

Dimensions of Sustainable Development



This triple bottom line is viewed as a meeting point between environmentalists and developers, with the first two objectives concentrating on economic and human aspects of development and the third on sustaining global eco-systems and cultures. According to Barbier, sustainable developments primary objective is to reduce the poverty of the world's poor 'through providing lasting and secure livelihoods that minimise resource depletion, environmental degradation, cultural disruption and social instability' (1987: 103). Multidimensional in nature the concept embraces: (i) practical concerns (equitable access to and the sustainable use of natural resources; (ii) moral and ethical considerations (concern for all life and intra-generation equity); and (iii) a temporal element (responsibility to future generations) (Sharpley, 1998: 68). As Hughes notes, 'the concept of sustainability is operationalized by treating the relationship between current resource use and future needs as a trade-off in which the socially desirable solution is the maintenance of the net productive value of environmental resources available to future generations' (1995: 52 – 53). Mainstream sustainable development is based upon four components: market environmentalism, ecological modernisation, environmental populism and natural capital and sustainability, as defined below.

Table 26**Four Components of Mainstream Sustainable Development**

Market environmentalism	Market environmentalism was incorporated into the rhetoric following the publication of ' <i>Our Common Future</i> ' and advocates continued capitalist growth. It is technocentric in approach and contends that through further market exchange and the continued commodification of nature, the more efficient environmental management will be.
Ecological modernisation	Adapted in sustainable development following the World Conservation Strategy, ecological modernisation concentrates on better planning, management and regulation of the environment and seeks to find ways in which economic development can be achieved without environmental costs.
Environmental populism	Introduced following the publication of ' <i>Caring for the Earth</i> ', environmental populism emphasises strategies that promote self-generated change and local participation in decision making empowering communities. By giving individuals and communities great power over their resources, it enables them to meet their needs in a more sustainable manner and thus conserve the environment.
Natural capital	Capital has been redefined and a distinction has been drawn between natural and human-made capital. The way the biosphere is viewed has changed dramatically, with the environment now classed as 'natural capital'.

Adapted from Adams, 2001: 104 - 123.

Whereas sustainable development emerged in response to the perceived failings of previous paradigms, sustainable tourism development was a direct reaction to mass tourism and concerns over the nature of its consumption, rather than anxiety over, or need to clarify, its relationship with development. As Lea comments, 'the industry is caught up in the debate because of its sheer scale of operation and its obvious connection with those parts of the world most would wish to conserve' (1993, 705).

Despite the growth of the global environment movement from the early 1960s, the tourism sector, unlike other industries at this time, faced relatively little pressure from environmental groups largely because of its limited scale. However, the exponential growth of the sector and its rapid emergence as a global economic activity in the late 1960s and 1970s saw perspectives concerning tourism's environmental consequences shift rapidly to one of ecological concern. As with many other industries, such as mining, tourism places enormous stress on the environment, yet, what differs with tourism is that it operates in some of the most ecologically fragile environments on the planet. According to Prosser (1994), the search for sustainability in tourism is linked to four forces of social change: dissatisfaction with existing products; an increasing awareness of the environment; an understanding by host destinations of the vulnerability of their resources; and a change in attitude of developers and tour operators (in Lui, 2003: 460).

Before addressing the conceptualisation of sustainable tourism development, it is worth considering McKercher's (1993) eight 'fundamental truths' regarding tourism development. Applicable to all forms of tourism development, these 'truths', as Sharpley observes, 'identify potential disarticulation points in the relationship between tourism and sustainable development' (2009: 67) and are important when considering alternative approaches to tourism. These 'truths' outline the potential problems associated with the development of tourism as a major global economic activity; these are as follows:

- Tourism consumes resources, creates waste and requires significant infrastructural development.
- Tourism development may result in the over-exploitation of resources.
- In order to survive and grow, tourism has to compete, most commonly against local communities, for scarce resources.
- The tourism industry is principally made up of small private sector businesses looking to maximise their short term profits.
- Tourism, as a global multi-sectoral industry is impossible to control.
- Tourists are first and foremost consumers, buying a tourist product or experience. Few consider the ethical implications of tourism.
- Most tourists seek an 'experience' that allows them to relax, have fun, escape from daily life and be entertained. Therefore, in order to meet the

needs/expectations of tourists, existing attractions may need to be modified to allow for the 'full' tourist experience.

- Although an export, the production/consumption of tourist experiences occurs at host destinations, consequently, interaction between tourists, the local community and the local environment is inevitable (McKerchner, 1993 in Sharpley, 2009: 67 – 58).

Once assumed to be a passing phrase because of its supposed opposition to commercial development and 'lack' of mass market appeal, some twenty years on, the debate surrounding sustainable tourism is more relevant than ever as international bodies, government institutions and the private sector jump enthusiastically on the sustainability bandwagon. As more of the world's poorest nations are enticed into opening up their countries to tourism, sustainability and the wider environmental discourse becomes more pertinent as sustainable tourism strategies seek to address economic, ecological, social and cultural issues. The WTO organisation sets out in its Manila Declaration on World Tourism that:

World tourism can contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order that will help to eliminate the widening economic gap between developed and developing countries and ensure the steady acceleration of economic and social development and progress, in particular in developing countries (WTO, 1980: 1 in Sharpley and Telfer, 2002: 13).

Keen to adopt a better image, the tourism sector has grasped with both hands the sustainability mantle, keen to label itself as 'green'. However, as Wheeler points out, the irony is that by appearing to be 'green', 'the industry is being protected with a shield with which it can both deflect valid criticism and improve its own image while, in reality, continuing its familiar short-term commercial march' (1991: 96).

Conceptualising Sustainable Tourism Development

As with its parental paradigm, the meaning of sustainable tourism development is subject to much debate. Within the tourism sector, it has become the latest catchphrase adopted by enterprises to lure potential customers: 'perhaps even more than other industries, the tourism industry can now see profit in ostensibly becoming green' (Wheeler, 1991: 96). The vagueness of the concept has allowed for its misuse and misinterpretation, resulting in a plethora of arguments over its conceptualisation.

Ambiguity and lack of a precise definition has led to it being understood as an ideology rather than a precise working definition. This has in turn led to a general acceptance that its principles and objectives can be applied to most tourism contexts. The objective/purpose of sustainable tourism development has become blurred with its principles/processes of implementation. Consequently, the concept can be viewed in three different ways: (i) as a goal or a vision; (ii) as a process towards achieving that goal; and (iii) as the policies, plans and activities of those organisations involved in sustainable tourism development (Sharpley, 2009: 59). To add to this, a variety of other terms, such as 'alternative tourism', 'eco-tourism', 'responsible tourism' and 'rural tourism' have become widely synonymous with sustainable tourism. By hijacking these labels, the tourism industry has justified the further exploitation of 'culturally and environmentally sensitive areas' (Collins, 1999: 99), which has in turn exacerbated conservation and development conflicts.

According the UNWTO (2012), expressed simply, sustainable tourism can be defined as 'tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities' (<http://sdt.unwto.org>). Alternatively, Butler (1993) defines it as 'tourism which is developed and maintained ... in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and wellbeing of other activities and processes' (Butler, 1993: 29 in Sharpley, 2009: 61).

The concept of sustainable tourism, therefore, recognises potential negative impacts of tourism and acknowledges 'the need to manage them in order to achieve the goals of sustainable development' (Saarinen, 2006: 1126). Similar to its parental paradigm, its meaning is multi-dimensional and considers practical elements (the sustainable use and equitable access to resources), ethical concerns (intra-generational equity and concern for all those involved in tourism as an activity) and temporal considerations (sustaining the resource base to allow future development). Thus, in addition to its role in economic development, sustainable tourism can be considered a potential catalyst for 'achieving a more equitable social condition on a global scale' (Sharpley, 2000: 10) and a vehicle for attaining sustainable development. Specifically, tourism ought to be (a) environmentally sustainable and

(b) contribute indeterminately to broader sustainable development objectives and policies (Sharples, 2002: 327).

According to the UNWTO (2011), sustainable tourism should:

1. Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity.
2. Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.
3. Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation.
4. Sustainable tourism development requires the informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, as well as strong political leadership to ensure wide participation and consensus building.
5. Achieving sustainable tourism is a continuous process and it requires constant monitoring of impacts, introducing the necessary preventive and/or corrective measures whenever necessary.
6. Sustainable tourism should also maintain a high level of tourist satisfaction and ensure a meaningful experience to the tourists, raising their awareness about sustainability issues and promoting sustainable tourism practices amongst them.

Therefore, when considering the development of tourism as an economic activity, the following fundamental principles need to be considered in order to achieve balanced development:

- Consideration of the environment should take precedence over the development of tourism; a long term approach should be adopted over a short term and natural, social and cultural resources should be used in a sustainable manner in order to secure the future of generations to come.

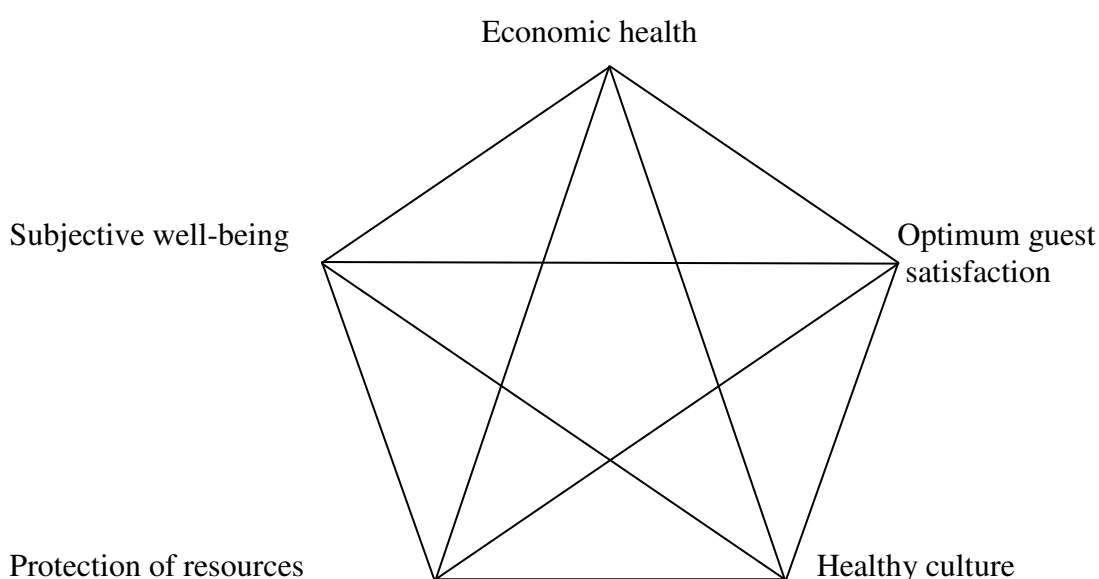
- Tourism development must be slow and controlled in order to be absorbed into the host environment at a manageable level. Tourism planning and development should therefore be integrated into local and national development strategies.
- Tourism should complement other economic activities in host destinations rather than replace or displace them, acting as a means of diversifying the local economy. It is crucial that a balance is sought between tourism and other economic activities which are all using the same resource.
- Decision making should be in the hands of the host community. Community participation should be promoted as a channel for integrating local communities into decision-making processes and encouraging local people to participate in their own development.
- Coordination between the tourism sector, local authorities and environmental agencies to ensure the negative impacts of tourism on the host community and the environment are minimal. Coordination between the various agencies would also minimise the occurrence of parallel or duplicate development projects and allow for funds to be divided and allocated for other purposes.
- There needs to be a balance between the needs of the host community, the visitor and the local environment. All parties should be educated and aware of the need for more sustainable forms of tourism.
- The potential benefits of tourism should be recognised and should be viewed as a tool for development not as an end in itself.

By placing sustainable tourism in the wider context of sustainable development there are a number of implications. First, the effectiveness of tourism as a means of development (meeting the goals of sustainable development) is called into question and therefore, may not represent the most appropriate sustainable path to follow. Second, instead of competing for the use of scarce resources with other economic activities, tourism looks for a more effective and suitable means of sharing these resources. Lastly, the conflicting nature of sustainable tourism becomes irrelevant as emphasis is placed on developing all forms of tourism within the broader objectives of sustainable development (Sharpley, 2002: 327).

Sustainable tourism development can be conceptualised as a ‘magic pentagon’ (Müller, 1994), in which a balance is achieved through five objectives, with no single objective dominating another. Sustainability principles refer to the environmental, economic, and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development. In order to guarantee its long-term sustainability it is fundamental that a balance is established between these dimensions.

Figure 4

Müller’s ‘magic pentagon’



Source: Müller, 1994 in Sharpley, 2009: 60.

In spite of the various definitions and terms that have come into existence, the debate over the relationship between tourism and development can be split into two broad interpretations: sustainable tourism development, which focuses on sustainable development through tourism, and sustainable tourism, which concerns itself with the sustainability of the tourism product. Although the two interpretations are often used interchangeably, the latter has been vigorously embraced by the tourism sector and plays a dominant role in the planning of tourism in practice. Sustainable tourism has become viewed as a vehicle for, or contributor to, sustainable development. That is, ‘sustaining development is a prerequisite for, but is subordinate to, sustainable development within the overall objective of sustainable tourism development’ (Sharpley, 2009: 60).

Despite the acknowledgement that tourism should be incorporated into national and local development strategies, this 'parochial or tourism-centric' line (Hunter, 1997: 850) focuses on a set of principles and policies designed to preserve a destination area's natural, built and socio-cultural resource base for the purpose of developing and maintaining the tourism product. To put it simply, this inward approach only concerns itself with sustaining tourism. Its developmental role is assumed rather than questioned and the issue of whether tourism is the most appropriate development vehicle overlooked. Therefore, when addressing the notion of sustainable tourism, methods should be extended to consider their contribution to sustainable development more generally.

Hunter (1997) offers an alternative conceptualisation of sustainable tourism development, recognising that sustainability should be conceived 'not as a narrowly defined concept reliant on search for balance, but rather as an over-arching paradigm within which several different development pathways may be legitimized according to circumstances' (1997: 850). The illusion still exists that tourism development can occur whilst simultaneously preserving natural resources. However, in reality, there is little chance that tourism can operate without reducing the quality or quantity of natural resources. Consequently, sustainable tourism must move away from a rigid framework in order to be able to address a wide variety of situations, whilst articulating different goals for the use of natural resources in accordance to specific situations. Hunter recognises the inevitability of diversity and argues that 'different interpretations of sustainable development will have applicability according to circumstance, involving a different set of trade-off decisions between the various components of sustainability' (1997: 855). These 'trade off' decisions made on a daily basis produce priorities which in turn favour certain aspects of the tourism/environment system over another, leading the notion of balance to be abandoned.

Hunter argues that there are four possible approaches to sustainable tourism; tourism imperative, product-led, environment-led and neotenuous tourism (1997: 860 – 863).

- Sustainable tourism development through a tourism imperative focuses heavily on the development of tourism and is mainly concerned with satisfying tourists and meeting their needs. This approach would most likely be justified in areas where a strong link exists between poverty and

environmental destruction, where tourism as an economic activity would represent a significant improvement on on-going degrading activities such as logging or mining, or where it would prevent an area and its natural resources being used for other potentially more degrading activities.

- Sustainable tourism development with a product-led focus concentrates on developing and maintaining tourism products, the environmental side of tourism is secondary. This approach would most likely be justified in relatively developed tourist areas or enclaves where tourism has most likely come to dominate the local economy and without its continued support the well-being of the community may well be compromised and further environmental degradation occur.
- Sustainable tourism development with an environment-led emphasis is principally concerned with conserving the environment. This approach is likely to be justified in areas where tourism is non-existent or relatively new and would concentrate on promoting certain types of tourism (such as ecotourism) which rely on maintaining the natural environment and its resources. It would also encourage tourism to work together with rather than in opposition to or excluding other locally important economic activities, whilst creating a touristic experience that highlights 'environmentally friendly' tourism.
- Sustainable tourism development through a neotenuous perspective argues that there are certain circumstances in which tourism should be actively discouraged on ecological grounds. In other words, tourism should be sacrificed for the greater good of the environment (Hunter, 1997: 860 – 863).

Approaches to sustainable tourism development have evolved (i) on the premise that mass tourism is unsustainable; and (ii) on the basis that they represent a stark contrast to mass tourism. As a result, the debate has become polarised between two camps, the 'good' (sustainable tourism) and the 'bad' (mass tourism). It is this mass/alternative tourism dichotomy that has underpinned the development of sustainable tourism practices and discourse. For tourism to be sustainable, it should therefore, be based upon strategies that represent an alternative to mass tourism and challenge its principles and practices. On this basis, Poon argues that 'the crisis of

the tourism industry is a crisis of mass tourism; for it is mass tourism that has brought social, cultural, economic and environmental havoc in its wake, and it is mass tourism practices that must be radically changed to bring in the new' (1993: 3). Seen as small- scale development, with more opportunities for the local community, less economic leakage and fewer undesirable impacts, sustainable tourism is viewed as a more appropriate form of tourism. As shown in the table below, most of the characteristics of alternative forms of tourism are the complete opposite to conventional mass tourism.

Table 27 Characteristics of Mass versus Alternative Tourism

<u>Conventional mass tourism</u>	<u>Alternative Forms of Tourism</u>
General Features	
Rapid development	Slow development
Maximises	Optimises
Socially/environmentally inconsiderate	Socially/environmentally considerate
Uncontrolled	Controlled
Short term	Long term
Sectoral	Holistic
Remote control	Local Control
Development Strategies	
Development without planning	First plan, then development
Project-led schemes	Concept-led schemes
Tourism development everywhere	Development in suitable places
Concentration on 'honey-pots'	Pressures and benefits diffused
New buildings	Re-use of existing buildings
Development by outsiders	Local developers
Employees imported	Local employment utilised
Urban architecture	Vernacular architecture
Tourist Behaviour	
Large groups	Singles, families, friends
Fixed programme	Spontaneous decisions
Little time	Much time
'Sights'	'Experiences'
Imported lifestyle	Local lifestyle
Comfortable/passive	Demanding/active
Loud	Quiet
Shopping	Bring presents

Source: Sharpley, 2009: 44

Over the years there has been a change in the relationship between sustainable development and tourism. Clarke (1997) argues that four positions have emerged: polar opposites, continuum, movement and convergence. The first views mass tourism and sustainable tourism as 'polar opposites' (Clarke, 1997: 226), labelling the former as 'bad' and the latter as 'good'. From this perspective the negative social and environmental impacts were associated with mass tourism, whilst sustainable tourism was regarded as 'a possession of an existing type of tourism based on small scale characteristics' (Clarke, 1997: 226). The second position represents a more flexible adaptation, arguing that a continuum exists between the two forms of tourism. It recognised that because sustainable tourism utilises the same infrastructure as mass tourism, there is a possibility that if not managed properly it could evolve into mass tourism. The third approach is understood as one of movement and argues that mass tourism could become more sustainable in the future and that sustainability does not just apply to small scale tourism. Instead of being vilified, it was encouraged, through operationalising current knowledge, to move towards the goal of sustainability and to cast aside all those assertions that marred the image of mass tourism. The latter perspective, building upon the third, takes a position of convergence and advocates that sustainability should be the goal of all tourism ventures, regardless of scale. It recognises two interpretations of sustainable development; the large-scale which has a dominantly physical/ecological perspective, and the small-scale, which offers a social perspective from a local platform. Both interpretations 'focus on the implementation of their current knowledge of sustainable tourism to move towards the ultimate goal of sustainability [and] seek future progress towards the desired goal through the twin processes of further development of ideas inherent in their own interpretation and by adoption of ideas found in the other' (Clarke, 1997: 229).

Community Participation and Tourism

In the last two decades or so community participation in tourism development has grown in importance as tourism planning has made a concerted effort to move away from enclavic structures. According to McCool and Lime, 'a burgeoning global economy in tourism coupled with the transition of local communities away from traditional resource extraction to tourism have led to expanding concerns about the effectiveness of tourism as a tool to advance social, economic and environmental

welfare of the people it is supposed to benefit' (2001: 372). When the concept of sustainable development entered the wider lexicon in 1987, the rhetoric of tourism development expanded considerably. The idea of maximising the potential of tourism to eradicate poverty by developing appropriate strategies in cooperation with all major groups and local communities was widely promoted (Sharpley and Telfer, 2002: 17). As Tosun notes, the participatory development approach facilitates the implementation of principles of sustainable tourism development by 'creating better opportunities for local people to gain larger and more balanced benefits from tourism development taking place in their localities, resulting in more positive attitudes to tourism development and conservation of local resources and by increasing the limits of local tolerance to tourism' (2006: 493). Linkages to the local community and its role in the decision-making process have become an integral part of the sustainability paradigm. As Munforth and Munt summarise:

The two words 'local' and 'participatory' are regularly used together to emphasise the need to include and involve local people; and it is this juxtaposition of the two words which implies, paradoxically, that it is local people who have so often been left out of the planning, decision-making and operation of tourism schemes (1998: 212).

The involvement of the local community in the planning and development of tourism has become a prerequisite of sustainable development. As Lui comments, 'in less development countries in particular, poverty and social desperation necessitates a greater need for the local community to benefit from tourism development but the inability of the host population to fully participate in the development process results in the lion's share of tourism income being leaked out from the destination' (2003: 467). In its report on sustainable tourism development in Honduras, the World Bank stresses that community participation makes economic and social sense. By receiving a share of the benefits of tourism, the local community is more likely to be supportive of new developments. As income increases, education and health conditions will improve which will again impact positively on tourism. Using the local population to provide goods and services makes economic sense as they have the best knowledge of local conditions and culture (World Bank, 2004: 18). The participation of the community in the tourism development process is crucial to social sustainability as it is the local community, especially disadvantaged groups, who bear the brunt of the negative costs of tourism. Mitchell and Reid compare

tourism in the developing world to a double edged sword, noting that ‘while it may provide a venue for communities and people to augment their income or livelihood the majority of benefits tend to flow out of them’ (2001: 114). Recognising that tourists are consumers and that the community and its resources are the commodity, the host community is an essential part of the tourism package. Lui contends that if local people are given the opportunity to participate in the development of tourism and decision-making processes, then they will be more tolerant of tourist activities and less likely to become resentful and drive tourists away (2003: 467). It is the host community that provides the community assets (landscape and heritage), public goods (parks, museums and institutions), and hospitality (government promotion and welcome smiles), which are the backbone of the industry (Murphy, 1983: 181). As Tosun points out, despite the apparent benefits of community participation and the desirability of the concept, ‘there seems to be formidable operational, structural and cultural limitations to this tourism development approach in many developing countries’ (2000: 614).

Given the ambiguity that surrounds the concepts of community and community participation, it is necessary to explain what is meant by these terms in regards to this research. As Mitchell notes, ‘in modern sociology it remains the case that the term community is used in a general and deliberately vague way (1968: 32 in Tosun, 1998: 12).⁴⁴ Tosun posits that the notion of community can be defined in three different ways; (i) people who live in a particular place or area, (ii) a particular group of people or part of society who are alike in some way, (iii) a friendship that is created and maintained between people and groups who are different in some way. The first definition focuses on the geographical element of the notion and the aggregation of individuals in a particular geographical location. The second emphasises the similarities between a group of people and the third is a synonym of the word association, referring to the creation of a friendship between people or groups who are different in some way (1998: 11). However, most definitions are defined as a geographic concept or from a collective interest point of view (George, Mair and Reid: 2009: 159). Poplin (1979) considered unity of social and territorial organisations (i.e. hamlets, villages, towns, cities etc.) as a community, arguing that

⁴⁴ The peasant community has generated a vast body of literature in the Andean region, which due to restrictions of space, cannot be examined in detail. Valuable starting points into this literature include Mossbrucker (1990); Gelles (2000) and Trawick (2002).

‘community refers to the places where people make their homes, earn their livings, rear their children and carry on most of their life activities’ (1979: 8 in Tosun 1998: 12). Whereas Nelson described community as ‘a group of people inhabiting a limited area, who have a sense of belonging together through their organised relationships share and carry on activities in pursuit of their common interests’ (1948: 71). Tosun offers the most complex and comprehensive definition of community that considers the demographic, communal, socio-political and territorial. He describes a community as:

An aggregation of individuals in different life cycles who occupied a relatively limited area of common earth, where they maintain their homes, earn their living, rear their children, carry on most of their life activities, engage in common socio-economic, cultural, religious and political activities, have a common feeling of belongingness, like-mindedness or fellowship, interact with each other and receive the greater part of their physiological, psychological and social needs, share the basic conditions of common life, and have intended to live their whole life within the community (19: 1998)

Community participation has become an umbrella term for a new genre of development intervention and has become a key aspect of community based tourism, viewed as an essential means of combating regional and foreign and retaining benefits within the host community. As Oakley comments, ‘it is now almost reactionary not to propose a development strategy which is not participatory and the major aspects of development intervention, research, planning, implementation and control, have all been subject to reorientation in order to make them more participatory’ (1991: 115). Most community involvement is brought about by agents’ external to the community such as government institutions or NGOs (de Kadt, 1982: 578). Arguments are in favour for the increased participation of people are not purely based on idealistic, humanitarian or equalitarian grounds. Greater participation is seen as key to increasing the numbers of people who can potentially benefit from development. Oakley argues that there are four main arguments for increased participation. Firstly, participation will extend the coverage of the project in that it will bring more people within the direct influence of development activities and therefore, increase the number of potential beneficiaries. Secondly, increased participation will enhance the chances that resources available to development

projects will be used more efficiently. Participation helps minimising misunderstanding and possible disagreements and therefore saves time and energy which is often spent by professional staff explaining and convincing people of a project. Thirdly, participation allows people to have a voice determining objectives, to support project administration and make their local knowledge, skill and resources available to projects making them more effective and less costly. Lastly, participation helps break the mentality of dependence and promotes self-awareness and confidence, while increasing people's sense of control over issues which affect them, helping to them to resolve, plan and implement strategies. In a broader sense, it also prepares people for participation at regional or even national level (Oakley, 1991: 118 – 119). As Mansuri and Rao comment, the potential gains from community participation in the development process are great:

It has the explicit objective of reversing power relations in a manner that creates agency and voice for poor people, allowing them to have more control over development assistance. This is expected to make the allocation of development funds more responsive to their needs, improve the targeting of poverty programs, make government more responsive, improve the delivery of public goods and services, and strengthen the capabilities of the citizenry to undertake self-initiated development activities (Mansuri and Rao, 2004: 2).

Definitions of community participation are intrinsically linked to the idea of the community taking part or being involved in the decision-making and development process. Mansuri and Rao argue that the cornerstone of community-based development initiatives is the active involvement of members of the host community in at least some aspects of project design and implementation and the key objective is the incorporation of local knowledge into the projects decision-making processes (2004: 6). Til defines the concept of community participation as 'a form of voluntary action in which individuals confront opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship. The opportunities for such participation include joining in the process of self-governance, responding to authoritative decisions that impact on one's life, and working co-operatively with others on issues of mutual concern' (1984: 311). Kaufman and Poulin refer to community participation as creating opportunities for members or a community to be involved in decision-making and planning. They argue that 'participation leads to a greater sense of empowerment in addressing

community problems, as well as greater ownership over the plans and activities that result from the participatory process' (1994: 359). Kaufman and Poulin define the concept as 'a process in which individuals take part in decision-making in institutions, programmes and environments that affect them' (1994: 360). Community participation is seen as a tool to realign the balance of power or reassert the views of the local community against those of the developers or local authorities and as a means of educating the community in rights, laws and political good sense. It allows the community to assume responsibility themselves to plan, manage, control and assess their own development and identify needs and problems within their own community (Tosun, 2000: 615). As Stone writes, community participation is to design 'development in such a way that intended beneficiaries are encouraged to take matters in their own hands, to participate in their own development through mobilising their resources, defining their own needs, and making their own decisions about how to meet them' (1989: 207).

There is little doubt the term community participation is difficult to define. Tosun (1999) argues that it is impossible to encapsulate the concept of community participation within one definite term because of its wide scope; therefore, it must be explained by approaching it from different viewpoints. Accordingly, Tosun reasons that, 'the form of community participation is determined by various conditions such as political, socio-cultural and economic structure of the place where participatory planning is intended to be implemented' (1999: 116). Following this line of thought, Tosun posits that community participation is not a monolithic term but consists of many different approaches. It should therefore not be regarded as taking place in a rigid framework. Tosun contends that there are three principal types of community participation in the development process; (i) spontaneous participation, (ii) induced participation and (iii) coercive participation. Spontaneous participation is a voluntary, bottom up approach without external support. It represents the ideal mode of participation as it 'mirrors a voluntary and autonomous activity on the part of people to handle their problems without governments and other external agencies' help' (Tosun, 1999: 118). Communities actively and directly participate in the whole process of development including the decision-making, implementation, sharing of benefits and evaluating.

Induced participation is a top-down and indirect form of participation and tends to be sponsored, mandated and officially endorsed. This form of participation

is the most common in developing countries. It is governments who take the central role in initiating participatory action and institutionalising it and is usually carried out through motivating and training local leaders to assume leadership roles, building self-management and cooperative organisation and supporting civic and community bodies. Induced participation represents the involvement of the community only in the implementation and in the sharing of benefits (Tosun, 1999: 120).

Coercive participation is a top-down, mostly indirect form of participation. At the extreme end of the spectrum, coercive participation tends to be compulsory, manipulated and contrived. Although, this form of participation produces immediate results, in the long run, it is forced and is usually lacking in public support and turns out to be counter-productive as it erodes community interest in becoming involved in development activities. As part of coercive participation, the community is only involved in the implementation of the development project and not necessarily in the sharing of benefits (Tosun, 1999: 121).

A review of the tourism development literature on participatory tourism development suggests that there is little agreement on what the term means. Scholars have frequently used interchangeably different phrases to explain the process such as community involvement (Murphy, 1983), community responsive tourism (Haywood, 1988), community participation in tourism (Simmons, 1994 and Tosun 2000), public participation in tourism (Keogh, 1990), community approach to tourism (Murphy 1985), community driven tourism (Prentice, 1993), and community collaboration in the tourism (Jamal and Getz, 1995). Tosun argues that using the concept in this manner has 'tended to reduce its usefulness for scientific communication and precision' (1999: 122).

Tosun makes the argument that it is 'impossible to formulate a participatory tourism development approach and then implement it in all tourist destinations which have different levels of development, socio-political, economic and cultural structures' (1999: 125). The potential opportunities and challenges for participatory tourism development therefore vary at the different stages of development for host destinations. Tosun proposes that community participation should be reconsidered in terms of an adaptive categorical paradigm which incorporates different forms of community participation in the tourism development process which vary according to the different circumstances of the various tourism destinations which are at different levels of development. Considering community participation in this manner,

he argues, legitimises '[the] various types of community participation in the tourism development process under the assumption of existence of different circumstances in each community' (Tosun, 1999: 123).

Tosun (1999) has developed three participatory tourism development approaches; (i) pseudo community participation in tourism development, (ii) spontaneous community participation in tourism development and (iii) active community participation in the tourism development process. Pseudo community participation in tourism development is viewed as 'going as far as it is possible towards non-participation' (1999: 126). This form of participation does not permit people to participate in the tourism development process but rather enables power holders to educate host communities to turn away potential and actual threats to future tourism development. Some decisions are taken to meet the basic needs or perceived needs of the community by consulting local leaders but only as a means of reducing socio-political risks for tourists and tourism development. Although it may appear that tourism development will be based on communities' priorities, it is in fact heavily skewed towards fostering and developing tourism and concerned with the needs and desires of decision makers, tourism operators and tourists. It does not allow communities to have a voice in the decision-making process of tourism development and is unlikely to ensure the community support needed for the long-term success of a tourist destination. As Tosun notes, 'it is not a long-term strategy for developing tourism in a sustainable manner, but a short-term policy to achieve non-communal objectives' (1999, 127). Pseudo community participation in the tourism development process does not require the participation of all members of the host community; instead it occurs through motivating and training local leaders to participate in the implementation of tourism development projects. This form of participation is most common in developing countries where government plays an important role in initiating and implementing tourism development and establishing the institutional structures needed for its development. Community participation is therefore driven by the priorities of the government and not by the needs of the host community (Tosun, 1999: 127).

Passive community participation in the tourism development process allows for limited participation by host communities who are merely involved in the implementations of decisions made for them rather than by them. The role of the community is limited to performing assigned tasks and is not involved in the

decision-making process in relation to tourism development issues in their locality. Host communities are sometimes used as 'instruments for the attainment of specific ends, such as protecting stability and changing attitudes of host communities' (Tosun, 1999: 127) or obtaining information about the socio-cultural features of the host communities, as well as providing information to them. Although host communities take part in tourism development issues, they do not experience personal, face-to-face interaction with decision makers. Instead, systematic community consultation activities such as open meetings and forums are held and carried out by an appointed task force. This creates a small opportunity for host communities to convey their sentiments and opinions regarding tourism development in their area indirectly to decision makers (Tosun, 1999: 127 – 128).

Spontaneous community participation in tourism development originates from the motivations and needs of the community and can take three distinct forms. The first, direct host community participation, involves face-to-face communication and interaction between decision makers and host communities affected by tourism development in their locality. Although it provides host communities with ample opportunities to directly convey their sentiments and opinions regarding tourism development, it does not necessarily delegate decision-making powers to them. It may though, be the first step towards achieving community participation in the tourism development process (Tosun, 1999: 128).

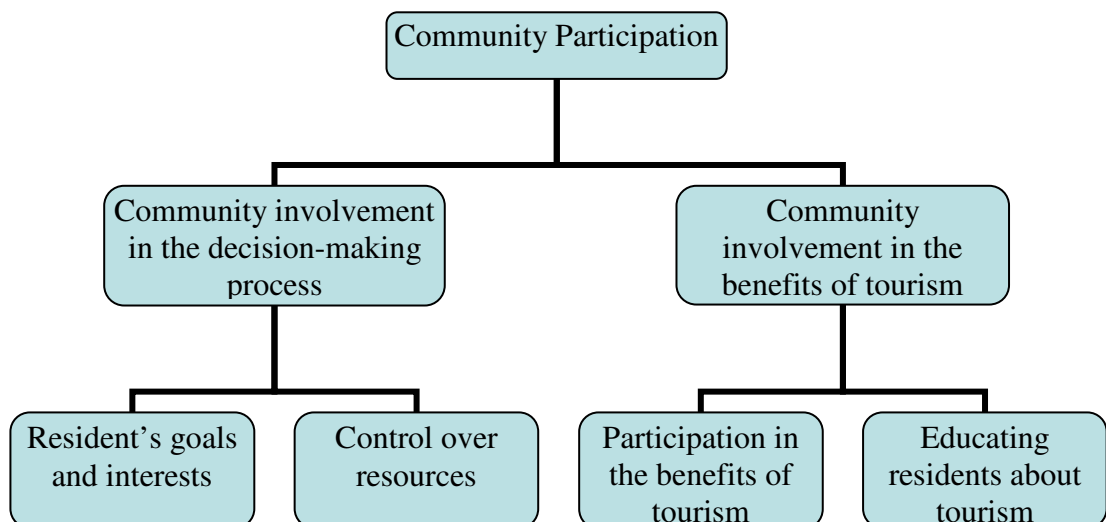
The second, active community participation is based on communities own desires and motivations to achieve their goals which are determined by themselves and not be external pressures. The active participation of communities requires both financial and personal commitment from local people on a day-to-day basis as well as on a long-term basis in the tourism development process. The efficiency and effectiveness of this type of participation depends largely upon the availability of financial resources at community level as well as the quality and quantity of human resources with entrepreneurial skills. As part of form of participation, host communities participate in the whole process of tourism development including the decision-making, the sharing of benefits and the implementation, monitoring and the evaluation of tourism development projects. The participation of all members of the host community is not necessarily required, rather 'the participation of local people with entrepreneurial skills as investors, participation of local leaders including elected, informal and formal, and the participation of local people as employees in

the tourism development process may be sufficient for effective active community participation' (Tosun, 1999: 128).

Authentic host community participation 'places emphasis on distribution becoming a means of obtaining a larger share in the fruits of tourism development and heightens the host community's awareness of their own capabilities to make choices and influence the content and outcomes of tourism development (Tosun, 1999: 129). Host communities have a voice in the decision-making process and have full managerial power over tourism development in their locality. This form of community participation however rarely exists, especially in developing countries. In terms of authentic community participation, the community is not a means but an end itself. Therefore, the process and mode of production is more important than the final result of the participation and 'the state of achieving power and of meaningful participation in the tourism development process is in fact the objective of the exercise' (Tosun, 1999: 129).

Timothy (2002) contends that community participation in tourism development can be viewed from two perspectives; (i) public participation in decision-making and (ii) resident involvement in the benefits of tourism. The first perspective refers to local residents taking control and determining their own goals for development, whereas the second relates to increasing incomes, employment and education of local people.

Figure 5 Dimensions of Community Participation



Source: Adapted from Timothy, 1999: 372

Communities highly integrated in tourism decision-making tend to experience greater socio-economic benefits than a community with a lower level of integration. As Mitchell and Reid (2001) note, although it is often communities, especially rural ones, which are at the forefront of the tourism industry in terms of service provision, they receive very few benefits for their efforts. This is largely due to the lack of input they have in the decision making process, with the main decisions taken by the industry in conjunction with national governments. As a consequence, 'local people and their communities have become the objects of development but not the subjects of it' (Mitchell and Reid, 2001: 114). Brohman argues that a community-based approach to tourism development would allow for the benefits to be spread more equitably throughout the community and would:

Seek to strengthen institutions designed to enhance local participation and promote the economic, social and cultural well-being of the popular majority. It would also seek to stride a harmonious approach to development that would stress considerations such as the compatibility of various forms of tourism with other components of the local economy; the quality of development, both culturally and environmentally; and the divergent needs, interests and potentials of the community and its inhabitants (1996: 60).

Participation in decision-making is centred on community members determining their own goals for development and having a meaningful voice in the organisation and administration of tourism development. As Murphy explains, with the move towards decentralised decision-making and community action as well as tourism's dependence on destination-area resources and goodwill, it is important to merge industry and community aspirations to ensure that the both survive and prosper over the long haul and develop at a scale and pace appropriate to local conditions (1988: 97). According to Mitchell and Eagles (2001: 5) community participation in the decision-making process can be distinguished by (i) the extent of a broad based, equitable and efficient democratic process; (ii) the number of participating citizens; (iii) the degree of individual participation (i.e.) influence in decision-making and (vi) the degree of long-term involvement in the planning and management of tourism development by local people.

Resident involvement in the benefits of tourism is equated to the personnel (social, economic, political and psychological) gains local people receive from tourism and the equal distribution of those benefits throughout the host community.

As Timothy notes, characteristics of this form of participation are ‘opportunities for community members to own businesses, to work in various industry-related jobs, to receive appropriate training, and to be educated about the role and effects of tourism in their community’ (2002: 156). Participation in this form allows for ‘increased levels in income, employment and education, as well as a decreased dependence on external agents and suppliers’ (Timothy, 2002: 156). Small-scale, family-run businesses tend to benefit host communities the most as they are more likely to employ local residents and use local products. This, in turn, cuts back substantially on economic leakage and allows for much higher degree of local participation and the benefits of tourism to spread more broadly throughout the host community. Through building community awareness of the local tourism industry ‘local people can be placed in a better position to determine their own needs and direct tourism development in their own communities’ (Timothy, 2002: 158). Resident involvement in the benefits of tourism can be distinguished by (i) direct employment related to the provision of tourism services; (ii) tourism service ownership; (iii) increased levels of income; (iv) revenue leakages related to the local tourism industry and (v) community education and awareness of tourism (Mitchell and Eagles, 2001: 6).

Petty (1995) argues that local participation can be conceivable measured using six levels of participation. The range of types demonstrates the varying degrees of external involvement and local control and reflects the power relationships between them. The first type is described as ‘passive participation’ whereby virtually all control and power over the development lies with personnel or groups from outside the community. The local community participates by being told what has been decided or already happened. The second, ‘participation by consultation’ involves the consultation of local people. It does not however allow them to participate in the decision-making process and professionals are not obliged to consider people’s view. The third, ‘bought participation’, is when people become involved in return for material incentives. The fourth type, ‘functional participation’ is whereby participation is viewed by external agencies as a means to achieve their goals and the local community participates by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives. The fifth, ‘interactive participation’ allows for people to actively participate in the decision making process and development of action plans and leads to the strengthening of local groups and institutions. The last type, ‘self-mobilisation and connectedness’ is when people take decision independently. Although they may

develop contact with external institutions for resources or technical advice, fundamentally the local community remain in control of all aspects of development (Pretty, 1995 in Munforth and Munk, 1998: 215). Although, as Mitchell and Eagles note, Petty's typology maybe a useful representation of the mechanisms and effects of citizen involvement in decision-making, it may be difficult to place a community accurately through empirical means (2001: 6).

Although tourism may provide communities with an opportunity to increase their income, the majority only retain a small proportion of the benefits which are unequally distributed. Tourism, particularly in developing countries, has traditionally been instigated and controlled by multinational tour operators who pay little attention to local socio-cultural and economic conditions. Therefore, for communities such as Cocachimba, community participation in the development of tourism and the decision-making process is crucial to combat regional or foreign domination and to retain benefits within the community itself. The challenge facing many destination areas is how to ensure that control of tourism development stays in the hands of the community and is not lost to outside investors. Inadequate tourism planning and policy, a lack of local investment in tourism, insufficient capacity building for host communities and little monitoring and evaluation of tourism development by local and regional governments and the strong position of major tour operators to control the consumption of tourism products and services as well the promotion and marketing of a destination, make it a very difficult for communities to maintain control over the development of tourism in their area and for benefits to remain in the host community. The success of tourism development should not be measured in terms of tourist numbers and revenue but assessed on how well it has been integrated into the broader development goals of communities and how well tourism revenues have been used to benefit those communities. As Lui argues notes, a more meaningful way to evaluate sustainable tourism is to examine 'how it can meet the needs of the host population in terms of improved living standards both in the short term and the long term' (2003: 467).

Tourism and the Environment: A Conceptual Framework

With the emergence of the sustainable development paradigm in the 1980s and the growth of the travel sector it seemed inevitable that two would coincide at one point or another. With the introduction of the package holiday to the mass northern

European market from the 1960s onwards and the subsequent rapid and unplanned expansion of resorts in countries such as Spain (Barke et al, 1996), 'tourism became a specific lens through which concerns over the environment and social consequences of economic growth, capitalism and globalisation could be focused' (Sharpley, 2009: 4). By the 1980s the environmental and socio-cultural issues associated with mass tourism had become a main focus of environmental concern. The negative aspects of tourism became increasingly evident in mass destination areas such as the Mediterranean coast, threatening the image and viability of the industry (Robinson, 1996). Destinations were increasingly experiencing an increase in crime rates, overcrowding, social conflicts, a decline in traditions and environmental deterioration. It seemed preordained that the relationship between tourism and socio-economic and environmental development, would be placed under intense scrutiny since 'there is probably no other economic activity which cuts across so many sectors, levels and interests' (Cater, 1995: 21). Given the close relationship between tourism and environment, the dilemma faced by destinations is how to balance the potential benefits with the negative environmental consequences. In 1972 Cohen predicted mass tourism 'if not controlled and regulated, might help to destroy whatever there is still left of unspoiled nature and of traditional ways of life' (1972: 182); a statement that has proved to be prescient.

Despite the economic benefits commonly associated with tourism, the sector has faced increasing criticism regarding its relationship with the environment. Concern over the environment has always been present throughout history. Even though, the environmental movement is a relatively new phenomenon, emerging in the post second world war period, human misuse of the environment can be traced back to nearly 3700 years, when Sumerian cities had to be abandoned because of irrigated land becoming saline and waterlogged (McCormick, 1995). Metropolitan concerns about the conservation of nature in North America and Western Europe during the twentieth century (and later in developing countries) were a factor in the rise of international environmentalism. With depleting fish stocks, rising deforestation and population growth rate, allied to the increasing occurrence of floods, droughts and famines throughout the world, environmentalists' concern over the 'limits' of the earth's capacity to cope with existing rates of development and the rate of resource depletion began to dominate the environmental debate over the global ecosystem from the 1960s onwards.

The environmental debate in tourism has been framed around the negative impacts of the sector on the environment. Concerns were first raised over the exponential expansion of tourism and its consequential impacts on host communities in the late 1960s and 1970s (Turner and Ash, 1957 and Cohen 1978) at a time when environmentalism was framed by the neo-Malthusian school of thought and its concerns over ‘limits to growth’.⁴⁵ Mihalič argues that environmental protection and preservation has become a current issue because of increasing environmental consciousness, tourist demand for better quality and the increased competition among destinations (1999: 65). As Cohen so prudently asked ‘what is a ‘tourist paradise? Is it a last remnant of unspoilt nature left intact for the enjoyment of affluent escapes from the West, sojourning in nearby luxury or is it an artificially transformed environment adapted to tastes and desires of more mundane mass travellers?’ (1978: 216). The rather frivolous question calls in to question man’s relationship with nature and the frequent need for it to be transformed in accordance with a human ideal. Although tourism is fundamentally an environmentally dependant activity, it is also at the same time resource hungry and its development and practice consumes resources, creates waste and requires significant infrastructural development, all of which inevitably contribute to the degradation and reduction of the environment (Sharpley, 2009: 22). As Goodall comments:

Environment is a core feature of the tourist product. Tourists are therefore ‘consumers of the environment’, travelling to the product’s location, the tourist destination, in order to consume the product. Thus tourism is dependent upon the attractive power of a destination’s environment, that is, its primary resource of climate, scenery, wildlife, culture and historic heritage. Often much of the environment takes the forms of open-access resources, which are not owned by anyone and for which no market exists, so making avoidance of overuse more difficult (1992: 60).

⁴⁵ The growth in environmentalism during the 1970s saw its return to its ideological roots and the resurrection of the Malthusian school of thought. Malthus, considered to be the first economist to predict limits to growth, contended that population growth would always outstrip per capita food supply due to the fixed amount of land available. Centred on the notion of an impending social, economic and environmental catastrophe, this new generation of neo-Malthusians placed high population growth rates at the core of the environmental crisis. Paul Ehrlich’s (1968) *The Population Bomb* helped to re-establish Malthus’ idea of population limits monitored by nature itself. Linking global population growth to resource degradation, pollution and human misery, Ehrlich argued that continued growth at an excessive rate would upset the ecological equilibrium and would result in the environment reaching its ‘natural limit’. The resurrection of the ‘limits to growth’ theory laid the foundations for the environmental revolution of the 1970s and the subsequent emergence of the sustainable development discourse.

The rapid growth of tourism has led to intensive and large scale development and has brought 'a large number of people accustomed to a relatively high standard of amenities, to a previously secluded natural or cultural environment' (Cohen, 1978: 219). The extensive infrastructural development that tourism necessitates to make the flow of tourists possible and their stay enjoyable transforms host destinations resulting in major and often irreversible environmental damage and caused 'by speculative land and building booms and by major inroads into local ecology through the development of tourist infrastructure and services or through vandalism of visitors' (Cohen, 1978: 119). More often than not, this occurs in those areas or regions that have based their economic development upon tourism due to the lack of alternative viable economic options and have inadequate means to address the issue of environmental conservation.

Cohen (1978) argues that there are four different factors which shape the environmental impact of tourism. The first, regards the intensity of the tourist site-use and development. This is determined by the number of tourists visiting a locality, the length of their stay, the activities carried out during their stay and the facilities at their disposal. As tourist numbers increase so does the rate of development in order to provide an adequate tourist infrastructure to support the number of visitors. When visitor numbers are low, localised non-specialised facilities are able to meet the demand. However, the arrival of the mass tourist necessitates the development of transportation and supply systems to serve their needs and those who service the tourist industry (Cohen, 1978: 220).

The second concerns the resiliency of the ecosystem. Cohen contends that not all environments can equally withstand the influx of tourists and that generally, big cities are better able to cope with a large number of tourists rather than the open countryside and extremely delicate environments such as islands, reefs and oases (1978: 222 – 223). Ecologically, tourism threatens undisturbed landscape and wilderness areas, changes the composition of flora and fauna, creates pollution, erosion and visual impacts and affects natural resources (Garrigós Simón et al, 2004: 275). The third refers to the time perspective of the tourist development. Despite the fact that tourism is centred on historical, cultural and natural attractions and amenities, developers are often ignorant or overlook the environmental impact of their activities on the local environment in which they operate. As Cohen concludes 'optimists tend to assume that self-interest will prevent the tourist entrepreneurs from

‘killing the goose that lays the golden egg’ and will not over-exploit or otherwise destroy the very environment which is the source of their profit. This assumption however, proves in many cases to be unwarranted (1978: 223).

Lastly, the fourth regards the transformational character of tourist development. Risk and damage to the environment is not necessarily created primarily by the development of a tourist infrastructure and facilities that enable large numbers of visitors to enjoy the natural attractions which frequently make up the basic resources of tourism. Environmental damage may also be caused by an area which may not possess any natural attractions but instead, attract visitors by creating or adding contrived or artificial attractions (e.g. Disneyland) to the local landscape (1978: 224).

The analogy of Hardin’s (1968) ‘The Tragedy of the Commons’ rings true to our ears as tourist resources face inevitable destruction, brought about by intentionally exceeding their limits (through having too many tourists) for short-term gain and the lack of assigned responsibility for these ‘common’ resources. Tourism can no longer be viewed simply as economic activity that has little impact on the natural and socio-cultural environments in which it operates. Instead, it should be recognised as an extractive industry (Garrod and Fyall, 1998: 199), which, although it does not produce anything in the traditional sense, it is developed from environmental resources and transformed into a product ready for sale to the open consumer market. Controlled and managed properly, sustainable tourism has the potential to have a low resource consumption rate. However as with any other industry, developed beyond its natural capacity it no longer can be viewed as a renewable resource industry (Butler, 1990: 41).

The commodification of the environment/nature following global acceptance of the neo-liberal economic model in the 1980s drastically changed the way ‘capital’ was viewed and defined. Now labelled as ‘natural capital’, resources which were previously considered to be non-market goods, such as oceans, waterfalls and landscapes, are now thought of as ‘exploitable resources’, open to market forces and exploitation by well-established corporations and other economic actors. As Southgate and Sharpley note, ‘the damage (environmental, cultural and social) tourism can impart is not an intrinsic product of tourism per se, but a manifestation of the broader socio-environmental hazards of prevailing mainstream development philosophy which relegates people and resources below the primacy of profit and

economic growth (2002: 256). The construction of nature in terms of tourism is more articulated than any other economic activity because of its direct consumption of the environment. As tourism has continued to grow, the monetary value placed on the environment/nature and its economic role has been redefined as it has become tourism's 'main resource'. By valuing the environment primarily in monetary terms, it threatens to devalue its importance (Redclift and Sage, 1994: 1 - 2). Tourism faces an environmental paradox (Williams and Ponsford, 2009: 396) in that it simultaneously requires these 'natural resources' for both the production and consumption of tourism, yet, it requires the ecological protection of these resources in order to sustain its competitiveness and appeal.

Regarding this paradox Redclift and Sage comment 'the way that people value nature in other cultures materially affects our own ability to 'manage' the environment in sustainable ways' (1994: 1). Increasingly, it is recognised that by only working with, instead of against, other cultural traditions, can development be 'sustainable'. The establishment of environmental 'value' in non-monetary terms within communities is essential to managing the environment and maintaining livelihoods and to the consumption of tourism. It is important that in addition to benefiting from the tourist experience, tourists contribute to the development process of destination areas by embracing environmental values. Unfortunately, there seems little evidence to suggest that the alleged emergence of a new type of tourist (Poon, 1993) who is increasingly aware of the consequences of tourism and its impact exists, leading Swarbrooke and Horner to conclude: 'most tourists do not appear to have a real concern with the environment that determines their behaviour as tourists (1999: 207 in Sharpley, 2002: 304), instead their behaviour as tourist consumers is based upon factors such as costs, purpose of trip, availability, enjoyment and expected benefits. When all is said and done, tourists are consumers searching for the best possible deal and, as a result, seeking out the most appropriate form of tourism which contributes to the destination's development is not a priority for the majority.

Given the close links between tourism and the environment, the concept of sustainable development is viewed as an intermediary between the two positions. The tourism-environment relationship has passed through four stages in the last 50 years (Dowling, 1992) reflecting the evolution of broader development and environmental thinking; these four stages Sharpley (1998) labels as co-existence, conflict, symbiosis and sustainability. The first stage of co-existence, dominant until

the 1960s, reflected modernist, neoclassical development ideology in which the exploitation of the environment was not questioned. During this first stage, the possible adverse impacts were not recognised and the prevailing view was that tourism had very little impact on the natural environment. Between the 1960s and 1970s, the nature of the relationship between tourism and the environment changed dramatically from one of co-existence to one of conflict. The emergence of mass tourism and its subsequent growth in both scale and scope spawned a plethora of research and led to a re-evaluation of its relationship with nature. With increasing pressure being placed on the natural and socio-cultural environment of host destinations, concerns were quickly raised over the negative impacts of tourism. By the 1970s, the tourism-environment relationship was polarised between two camps; those who supported tourism as a means of conserving the environment and strengthening cultural and heritage values, and those who were against it because of the environmental impacts. The influence of the dependency development paradigm and the 'limits to growth' theory undoubtedly contributed to increased awareness concerning the negative impacts of tourism and growing unease over unequal tourist-host encounters (Dowling, 1992: 33 - 36).

From the 1980s the tourism-environment relationship entered its third stage. Reflecting a more ecocentric perspective, it moved into its symbiosis stage. A somewhat idealist approach, it was argued that through appropriate planning and management, tourism could work in harmony with nature, mutually benefiting both tourism and the environment. Like Dowling, Budiwski (1976) argued that the relationship between tourism and the environment could pass through stages of co-existence, conflict or symbiosis. Despite the existence of all three types of interaction, Budiwski contended that because of the increase in tourism and diminishing natural areas, the relationship tends to be one of co-existence moving towards conflict (1976: 27). Therefore, by the mid-1980s, the notion of a symbiotic relationship was soon 'tempered by the realism that in actual fact the underlying conflicts (resulting from the development of tourism) were ever present' (Dowling, 1992: 39).

Recognition that tourism, as a leisure/economic activity, inevitably caused some degree of environmental damage through its over-consumption of natural resources and waste generation (amongst other negative impacts), saw the tourism-environment relationship enter its fourth stage; sustainability. Influenced by the

sustainable development paradigm and transformations in the production/consumption of tourism, this period represents the challenge of ensuring the continuation of tourism development, maintaining the sustainable use of natural resources while optimising the benefits of tourism for the local population (Dowling, 1992: 39 in Sharpley, 1998: 84).

The interdependent relationship between tourism, development and the environment has existed for many years and can be traced beyond the publication of *Our Common Future* in which it was identified as a possible 'green' economic activity. According to Butler (1991: 201), one of the first instances of the environment being used for leisure purposes is the Royal hunting reserves in England over a thousand years ago. Within the context of tourism, these reserves represent one of the earliest attempts to manage the environment sustainably, through maintaining the animal wildlife (resource base) at a renewable level for the purpose of hunting (leisure activity). Through the application of almost draconian restrictions on the use of the hunting grounds and the exclusivity of the leisure activity (generally limited to the upper class), these measures achieved relative success largely because the level of use was low enough not to cause any serious threat to 'resource'.

In the centuries that have passed there has been a marked increase in the use of the environment for leisure purposes and consequently the 'numbers of users of many resources have increased dramatically to levels that were never remotely contemplated even a few decades ago' (Butler, 1991: 202). The continued expansion of the sector has placed the issue of carrying capacity and the maximum number of tourists that can be accommodated in a certain destination at the forefront of the debate surrounding tourism planning. As Saveriades notes, 'the concept of carrying capacity has diffused into tourism studies due to increasing concern for the negative impacts of tourism and the realisation that destination areas display cycles of popularity and decline' (2000, 148). Many of the world's most important architectural and natural landscapes have in fact become victims of their own success. Although it is still relatively unusual to see draconian restrictions placed on tourism resources, there are some attractions which have introduced a cap of visitor numbers to help reduce crowding and reduce visitor's physical impacts, such as Machu Picchu in Peru, where they are limited to 2,500 per day and Alhambra in Spain where 7,700 visitors a day are permitted. Increasingly, some of the world's most popular tourist destinations such as the Forbidden City in China and the Taj

Mahal in Indian are starting to consider introducing similar measures. Despite some efforts to restrict or disperse the use of tourism resources, their overuse has left many exceeding their carrying capacity, leading to widespread concern over the negative environmental impacts of tourism.

The notion of carrying capacity is central in the discussion on sustainable development and is often defined by the amount of use that can be accommodated without degrading or causing irreversible damage to resources. As Butler explains, implicit in the concept of sustainable development is the idea of limits. 'In the case of tourism, this is normally expressed in terms of numbers of tourists, although implicit in this is the associated infrastructure development and landscape modifications' (1999: 15). Malthienson and Wall define carrying capacity as the maximum number of people who can use a place without an unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and an unacceptable decline in the quality of the recreational experience (1982: 184). Similarly, McIntyre defines carrying capacity as the 'maximum use of site without causing negative effects on the society, economy or culture of the area' (1993: 23 in McCool and Lime, 2001: 381). Likewise, Pearce posits that is 'commonly considered as the threshold of tourist activity beyond which facilities are saturated (physical carrying capacity), the environment is degraded (environmental carrying capacity) or visitor enjoyment is diminished (perpetual or psychological carrying capacity)' (1989: 169 in Brown et al, 1997: 317). Carrying capacity has become a framework within which, the negative impacts of tourism and the need to manage them in order to achieve the objectives of sustainable development, can be considered on a local scale (Lindberg et al, 1997: 461). As Saarinen comments, 'both sustainability and carrying capacity refer to the scale of tourism activity that can occur in a spatial unit without doing any serious harm to the natural, economic, and sociocultural elements at destinations' (2006: 1126).

O'Reilly (1986) describes two main schools of thought concerning tourism's carrying capacity. The first is concerned with the ability of the destination area to absorb tourism before its negative impacts are felt by the hosts and is thus focused on the number of tourists wanted rather than the number potentially attracted. The second school of thought considers 'the levels beyond which tourist flows will decline because certain capacities as perceived by the tourist themselves have been exceeded' (1986:254). As a destination becomes more commercialised it loses its authenticity and appeal which consequently results in tourists seeking other

destinations. As Saveriades remarks, 'each destination can sustain a specific level of acceptance of tourist development and use, beyond which further development can result in socio-cultural deterioration or a decline in the quality of the experience gained by visitors (1990: 2000). An even balance between the physical environment and the quality of the experience needs to be maintained in order to avoid destruction or deterioration of the host area. This balance depends on the destination not exceeding its carrying capacity (O'Riley, 1986: 254).

Once the carrying capacity of a destination has been exceeded, the nature of tourism itself changes, the attractiveness and the viability of the destination declines and tourism no longer becomes sustainable in its original form. If overuse and overdevelopment continue unabated, then any form of tourism may become unsustainable in that destination' (1999: 16). Unfortunately it is only when it has become apparent that carrying capacities have been exceeded have efforts been made to control tourism flows, this was evident in the case of the Leaning Tower of Pisa whose foundations have had to be strengthened due to excessive numbers and in the case of Machu Picchu whose stones have been worn to name just a few examples.

As Lui posits, the many dimensions of carrying capacity make the task of determining limits all the more complicated. Carrying capacity can be divided into five subtypes; physical, ecological, psychological, social and economic. Each of which has a different threshold and a different implication for tourism development. Physical carrying capacity is related to the maximum number of tourists a destination can physically accommodate whereas ecological carrying capacity refers to the impacts of tourism on the natural environment and the long-term viability of natural resources. Psychological carrying capacity concentrates on the perceptions and satisfaction of tourists which will vary among the different types of tourists, holidays and destinations. Social carrying capacity is concerned with the socio-cultural impacts of tourism that will influence the attitudes of local communities towards tourism and lastly, economic carrying capacity relates to the profitability and opportunity costs of tourism behaviour, developer practices and resilience of the destination's socio-economic physical environments (Lui, 2003: 469 – 470).

Despite the concept of carrying capacity providing a framework through which the undesirable environmental and socioeconomic impacts of tourism can be measured, Linderberg et al (1997) argue that there are however, limitations to it. Carrying capacity provides little guidance for practical implementation and 'exists

only in relation to an evaluative criterion that reflects an objective or a desired condition. If the criterion is imprecise or unworkable, it will not be possible to specify a carrying capacity' (Linderberg et al, 1997: 462). Also, it is viewed as a scientific concept rather than a management notion. Although it may be useful to describe the consequences of alternative use levels, it cannot determine what the carrying capacity of a site is or should be. In fact 'the numerical references provided to facilitate carrying capacity determination may be useful as very broad guidelines, but they likely also mislead readers into believing that objective criteria exist and are transferable from site to site (Linderberg et al, 1997: 462). Carrying capacity can be used as a useful management technique to ensure that tourism development is carried out and controlled 'within the context and thresholds of optimum level of capacity' (Saveriades, 2000: 151). Lastly, it focuses on use levels or the number of visitors, despite the fact that management issues typically relate to condition. McCool and Lime argue that carrying capacity should focus on sustaining acceptable, appropriate or desirable conditions for a tourism development, attraction or region rather than focusing on numerical capacities (2001, 374). Regarding this, Saarinen comments:

The search for a magical absolute and objective calculation of the maximum acceptable number of tourists at a destination has failed, for example, because, carrying capacity is not related only to a certain resource and the number of tourists or the intensity of the factual impacts. It is also a question of human values and (changing) perceptions concerning the resource, indicators, criteria and impacts (2006: 1125 – 1126).

Getz (1983) identified six methods for determining capacity to absorb tourism. The first is to assess tangible resource limits by carrying out inventories of existing and potential resources and identifying obstacles to development. Tangible resources he argued, could be broken down into three classes: those perceived as being obstacles but can be overcome, those which cannot be easily overcome due to current or anticipated financial or technological inputs, and those resources which could be destroyed or consumed unless effective measures are applied. Tangible resources, Getz concludes 'can be viewed either as obstacles to overcome or as devices for controlling changes' (1983: 246). The second method is to grasp the level of tolerance by the host population. If a predominantly negative reaction should arise it could ruin the experience of the tourist and discourage potential visitors, thereby

threatening the tourist industry. Preferences of the host population should be considered when deciding the type and amount of growth of tourism given that they are most directly affected by tourism. The third considers monitoring visitor satisfaction by concurrently assessing perceptions and preferences of departing and potential visitors. Negative reactions from visitors can restrict the growth of tourism or cause a decline in popularity in a destination area. Limits to development or visitor numbers could be imposed if opinions by departing or potential visitors indicated a major problem (Getz, 1983: 248 – 249). The fourth is the consideration of excessive rate of growth or change which can lead to a conservable amount of pressure being placed on physical resources. In addition, too rapid change to traditional societies could also lead to cultural shock which subsequently could adversely affect the receptiveness of the host population to tourism (Getz, 1983: 249). The fifth relates to capacity based on the evaluation of costs and benefits. Although limiting factors may be identified in tourism planning, it is very unlikely they will lead to the application of limits of growth and change. As Getz explains, ‘planners will want to know first if the limiting factor can be overcome, and at what cost. It must also be asked if the factor in question holds sufficiently high priority to be construed as determining capacity’ (1983: 250). The sixth method is the role of capacity in a systems approach. This approach emphasises the assessment of costs and benefits through ongoing analysis and prediction of impacts and the establishment of explicit goals for planning and management.

Accordingly, this line of thought has led to the development of models of evolution which describe the changes experienced by tourist areas over time (Christaller, 1964; Plog, 1972 and Butler, 1980). The most well-known concept, Butler’s (1980) ‘tourism area life cycle’ (TALC), posits that every destination has a limit to its growth, with host destinations passing through a number of stages before arriving to the point of stagnation, indicating that its limit has been reached. According to Butler’s model in which development and growth were expressed in terms of visitor numbers, tourist destinations follow an number of identifiable stages; exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation. Thus, the process begins with tourists visiting in small numbers at first, attracted by its authenticity and natural conditions, tourist facilities are undeveloped and access to the locations difficult. As facilities are provided or improved and awareness increases during the second stage so does the number of arrivals and hence its popularity. During the third

stage, there is a notable increase in the number of tourists, largely due to an increase in the promotion of the area. It is during the consolidation stage that tourists' visits may decrease despite absolute figures still growing and when the destination can be considered to have a tourist-based economy. It is at this point that the area may begin to fall into decline and authenticity is notably replaced with artificiality. When full capacity is reached in the final stagnation stage, the number of visitors in the area will stabilise and eventually decline, as new areas open up and become more enticing to visitors. Other researchers such as Agarwal (2006) and Baum (2006) have added to the TALC model. Agarwal argued that following a period of stagnation is a reorientation stage, whereas Baum argued that the cycle may include either or both a reinvention phase and an exit stage resulting in the destinations subsequent withdrawal from tourism (in Butler, 2009: 348). As Sarrinen comments 'the limit of growth in the evolution model is not primarily based on the capacity of the destination and its (original) resources for absorbing tourism, but on the industry (activity) and its capacity (2006: 1128). If the tourism product is altered or developed through marketing or improved facilities and infrastructure, the destination's limits of growth can be adjusted to a higher level. However, any 'touristic modifications based on the development of new cycles will potentially require more effective and massive environmental changes, new land-use patterns and additional construction work' (Sarrienen, 2006: 1128 – 1129), therefore, overstepping some of the limits of resource-based sustainability. Considering all these points, it seems more plausible that a destination area follows the following stages; exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, reorientation (during which time the options available to the destination area are carefully considered and the most viable option pursued) and reinvention (where the destination area reinvents itself either as a tourist destination or decides to pursue another economically viable activity). Although the destination may no longer be considered to have a tourist-based economy, withdrawal from the tourism industry remains unlikely.

As Butler (2009) himself admits, the TALC model works well with destinations established in earlier days, when its life span was around a century or so. However, modern destinations now tend to reach a decline within two decades of their formation, largely due to increasing number of opportunities and options available to tourists today. Although this model cannot be used to forecast when a destination might begin to experience a decline in visitor numbers or when a new

destination might emerge in the region in competition, the model provides a basic framework in mapping the development of areas. What the TALC model does not offer is a clear sense of how the transition from one stage to another actually functions.

Using the example of Catalonia, Spain, Garay and Cánoves (2011) offer a framework to explain the evolution of regional tourist destinations based upon different tourism accumulation regimes (production and consumption of tourism activities) and tourism models of regulation (political, institutional and competence forms related to tourism) whose evolution and transformations are influenced by cultural, social, economic and technological elements. They argue that destinations pass through four phases; proto-tourism, pre-Fordism, Fordism and Post-Fordism. The first proto-tourism phase can be compared to Butler's exploration stage, during which the first tourists arrived (Enlightened scientists at the end of the eighteenth century), providing 'a subjective evaluation of the landscape and heritage' (2011: 657) and later attracting romantics at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ Following this initial phase of exploration, local stakeholders became involved in tourism for the first time and the new urban bourgeois class, emerging from the industrialisation of Catalonia, began to replace the aristocratic 'exclusivist tourist', becoming the main tourism consumers until the advent of mass tourism. It was also during this phase that new activities began to emerge such as the spa phenomenon and scientific hiking and the construction of new infrastructure (For example, the Catalan railway between 1855 and 1865), allowing for rural and seaside resorts to be connected to newly industrialised cities (2011: 657 – 658). Garay and Cánoves argue that the transition from the proto-tourism to pre-Fordist phase occurred as a result of significant crisis at the beginning of the twentieth century and was 'related to a reorientation or rejuvenation in terms of economic and especially socio-cultural elements, both from internal and external origins and directly linked to the general transformation associated with the transition towards a new (the second) industrialisation stage' (2011: 659). These changes were influenced by the emergence of new cultural, economic, social and technological influences and helped change tourists tastes, as a result previous activities went out of fashion. Similar to TALC, this second phase saw the involvement of local stakeholders who began to

⁴⁶ Enlightened scientists included Antonio Ponz, Francisco de Zamora, Joseph Marshall, Philip Thickness, Henry Swinburne, Joseph Townsend and Arthur Young.

professionalise and upgrade tourist infrastructure and facilities. The promotion of tourism in the region by newly formed organisations and public administration was equally as important during this time.

The third phase, Fordism, similar to the involvement stage of the TALC model, occurred in the period following the Second World War and is associated with the advent of mass tourism. As Garay and Cánoves note, ‘in this development phase, a set of elements converged to boost tourist demand’ (2011: 662). Without a welfare state in Western Europe, an increase in disposable income, technological improvements such as chartered flights and in the case of Spain, the 1959 Stabilisation Plan, mass tourism would not have been possible. At the end of the 1970s after the impact of the energy and economic crisis was felt by the world, as well as the technological improvements associated with the telecommunications revolution, there was change in demand motivation and tourism entered its post-Fordist stage. From this point onwards destinations began to experience a new life cycle and a new stage of exploration began from which new forms of tourism emerged and more traditional forms such as sun and sea embraced new strategies. As Garay and Cánoves comment ‘it is from this moment that the development of the destination occurred through the conjunction of two general Life Cycles, mass tourism, which was in a consolidation phase, and post-fordism tourism, which started its exploration phase during these years’ (2011: 664). As a means of adjusting to the changes, the model of regulation was altered to promote a new growth stage.⁴⁷ It was also during this time that, with a new understanding of the sector’s implications for the development of infrastructure and economic growth in general, that the promotion of tourism took on a new importance and both the private and public sector became involved. Garay and Cánoves conclude that many, if not most destinations do not involve just one life cycle, but rather a series of cycles at different stages of development whose transitions were influenced by cultural, social, economic and technological elements.

⁴⁷ In the case of Catalonia this occurred through the transfer of the responsibility of tourism from the state to supranational bodies and after the decentralisation process, after which Catalonia’s Autonomous Government received power over tourism and its policies.

Questioning the Principles of Sustainable Tourism Development

At face value, tourism appears to be an effective tool for development, acting as an agent for economic growth and socioeconomic advancement. Therefore, given its potentially important role, it is fair to assume that the objectives of tourism-related development should correspond to the fundamental principles of sustainable development, and to some degree they do. Tourism-related development embraces the broader principles of sustainable growth: it advocates the sustainable use of and equitable access to natural resources, along with expansion while being respectful of environmental and socio-cultural capacities, in order to allow for future economic growth. Endogenous development and self-reliance are encouraged through community participation, whilst the holistic approach takes into consideration all those involved in tourism an activity.

The concept of sustainable development has been embraced within the planning and management of tourism as a means of limiting its negative consequences to an 'acceptable level'. As Hunter notes, 'the management principles underlying alternative tourism do appear to represent an environmentally sustainable future for tourism development' (1998: 80). However, in spite of this potential, the scale and scope of international tourism as an economic activity and in its exploitation of natural resources, makes it extremely difficult for the sector to fulfil these objectives. All too frequently sustainable tourism fails to meet the key principles of sustainable development.

Despite advocating a holistic perspective in which sustainable development is considered within a global political and socio-economic context, tourism strategies are inclined to be inward and product centred, with little emphasis placed on wider integration into national and local planning. As Sharpley observes 'sustainable tourism strategies in practice tend to focus almost exclusively on localised, relatively small-scale development projects, rarely transcending local or regional boundaries, or on particular industry sectors' (2000: 9). This has resulted in an overdependence on tourism as an economic activity, which instead of complementing other sectors in host destinations and acting as a means of diversifying the local economy, has tended to replace or displace them.

Central to the sustainable tourism debate is the concept of 'futuraity'. Although, socio-economic benefits may appear within a relatively short space of time, the long-term impact will not become apparent until some point in the future.

Even though it is difficult to judge given the unpredictable nature of tourism demand and changes to tourist flows (caused by competition from other destinations, changes in political and economic climate and in consumer taste), most tourism development policies stress the need for the long-term sustainable use of natural resources. Unfortunately, however, their focus is 'upon the ecological sustainability of tourism itself rather than the potential contribution of tourism to long term sustainable development' (Sharpley, 2009: 10). For many of the innumerable amount of small enterprises that participate in the 'industry', short-term profit and survival remains priorities over the adaptation of a long-term 'responsible tourism' perspective.

In addition to its role as an agent for economic growth, tourism is considered to offer an effective means of attaining a more equitable society on a global scale by advocating both intra- and inter-generational equity, adopting policies which emphasise the equitable use and share of natural resources, benefits and opportunities and, through the promotion of community participation and collaborative planning. Despite such claims, the reality is that the structure of international tourism tends to exacerbate inequalities, often being concentrated within enclave resorts, excluding a large proportion of the local community and controlled by political and economic elites. Marketing, transport and accommodation are more often than not run by global networks, resulting in high overseas leakages and a lack of local/community based control over resources, as well as reinforcing dependency between metropolitan centres and the periphery.

For many, sustainable tourism development is, as Wheeller describes, 'at best a micro solution to what is essentially a macro problem' (1991: 93). Small-scale sustainable tourism development projects have attempted to avoid the defects traditionally associated with mass tourism (as mentioned above). It is argued that these localised, environmentally benign initiatives permit local communities to optimise the benefits derived from tourism through participation in its planning, development and control, while, allowing the 'consumer' to have a meaningful and joyful experience. For some, such as Klemm, the 'real challenge for the future is to provide sustainable tourism for the mass market' (1992: 179). However, the reality is slightly more complicated than simply finding a means of implementing sustainable tourism on a macro scale, given the number of observable short-comings on a micro scale. Even at community level, sustainable production, consumption and equitable distribution are difficult to achieve, if not impossible. In consequence, sustainable

tourism cannot be regarded as a micro solution to a macro problem. The issues traditionally associated with large-scale tourism are still very much present in localised/small-scale developments, albeit to a slightly lesser extent. Even on a micro scale, relatively few people benefit from tourism, especially in developing countries where the social and economic situation places a greater need for the community to participate. Localised, small-scale projects act as a microscope under which the limitations of sustainable tourism development can be clearly seen. There is a clear failure even at this level, to put the developmental needs and interests of the host community before those of the tourism sector itself. Until this is done, the satisfaction of basic needs and self-reliance, as well as broader social development, will not be achieved. Regarding this issue, Southgate and Sharpley comment: 'sustainable tourism development offers little beyond a well-trodden and, in many ways, superficial reconstitution of mainstream developmentalist ideas, espousing the primacy of economy over ecology, of bureaucratic planning over local participation and of designation over consultation' (2009: 233).

The real challenge would appear to be, therefore, to begin to devise and promote new environmentally benign forms of tourism which best suit each destination's individual, social and economic conditions, and are more closely connected to the principles of sustainable development at both macro - and micro-level. There is no blueprint for attaining this outcome. Several different pathways may be applicable according to particular circumstances and destinations, an acknowledgement which is essential for any future success of sustainable tourism. Fundamentally, as Sharpley posits, in order for sustainable tourism development to meet its stated goals, it 'requires a transformation in social values and lifestyles in general and the adoption of 'responsible' consumptions' (2009:78). Underlying issues associated with development in general need to be addressed before tourism can be a successful vehicle for development. As long as the increasingly large gap between rich and poor continues to exist, implementation of sustainable policies will be extremely difficult, if not impossible.

Sustainable Tourism Development as a Cycle

Tourism has the potential to contribute to sustainable development because; (i) the dynamism and continued growth of the sector tourism makes a significant contribution to the economies of host destinations and (iii) tourism as an activity has

a distinct relationship between consumers (visitors), the environment and local communities, where the consumer (tourist) travels to the producer and the product. The management of tourism in a sustainable manner is essential to its ability to be maintained in the long-term and contribute to the overall development of a host destination. Although sustainable tourism development as a concept is not a finite state but rather a continuous process of improvement, it should reflect and embrace the principles and objectives of sustainable development. In the tables below a classic sustainable tourism development model is illustrated. The model demonstrates how as a destination area progresses through the various stages of its 'life cycle' (Butler, 1990), instead of pursuing the overarching principles of sustainable development, it actually moves further away from them. Consequently, the ability of tourism as an activity in the future is compromised as is the capacity of the host community and its environment to absorb the impacts of tourism in a sustainable manner.

Table 28 Classic Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Model – Stage 1

Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Stage	Life Cycle Stage	Correlation with the Principles of Sustainable Development	Description
Stage 1	Exploration stage	High correlation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some community participation • Small scale tourism development • Locally owned • Few outside leakages • Tourism acts as an additional source of income

Stage one of the STDC is associated with the exploration stage of a destination's life cycle. According to Butler's TALC model (1980), it is the exploration stage that marks the start of the tourism development process which begins with tourists visiting in small numbers at first, attracted by its authenticity and natural conditions. Tourist facilities during the exploration stage are undeveloped and access to the

location is difficult. During the early stages of tourism, the destination area is more able to adhere closely to the principles of sustainable development. With a small number of arrivals, tourism development is slow and controlled during this period and into the involvement stage. With few stakeholders or ‘outsiders’ involved, linkages tend to be localised, with decision-making in the hands of the local community. Communities are able to make decisions over the future of tourism, often through locally established associations, and play a large role, through employment, in its activities. With the destination area still relatively unknown, local residents provide the basic services needed to accommodate tourists. At this stage, the involvement of the authorities is minimal. Under the banner of ‘sustainable development’, areas previously untouched and undisturbed are opened up in the name of ‘responsible, eco-friendly’ tourism, resulting in the destruction of sensitive habitats. With relatively few unspoiled areas left in the world, tourists are continually searching for more remote areas to experience nature at its purest. Such a trajectory completely contradicts the underlying principles and objectives of sustainable tourism

Table 29 Classic Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Model – Stage 2

Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Stage	Life Cycle Stage	Correlation with the Principles of Sustainable Development	Description
Stage 2	Involvement stage	High correlation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High level of community participation • Basic infrastructural development • Raising awareness of environmental issues • High level of coordination between the main stakeholders • Capacity building with the local community of the host destination • Locally owned • Few outside leakages

Stage two of the model reflects the involvement stage of a destination's life cycle. According to Butler (1980) as facilities are provided or improved and awareness increases during the second stage so do the number of arrivals and its popularity. During this period, basic infrastructural development occurs, often providing a more accessible access route to the destination. Some residential homes are renovated or converted into small hostels or restaurants, earning revenue for local people. There is a high level of local community involvement, as residents provide basic services to tourists, offering alimentation, accommodation and guiding services. Tourist numbers begin to increase as the destination becomes better known both nationally and internationally. There is a good level of coordination during this period between the local community, local authorities, NGOs and the tourism sector, as they try to organise and educate the community, improve facilities, resources and products. Capacity building among the local community of the host destination is a priority and tends to focus on the issues of customer care, quality and guiding services. However, because of their limited access to credit and entrepreneurial inexperience, services and facilities are provided at a low cost and quality. There also tends to be at this time a balance between the various local economic activities, in which tourism provides an additional income rather than being the principal source of income for a community. Importantly, awareness is raised regarding environmental protection; however, the importance of looking after the environment is linked to, and associated with ensuring the continued flow of tourists, rather than a genuine concern for environmental issues.

Table 30 Classic Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Model – Stage 3

Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Stage	Life Cycle Stage	Correlation with the Principles of Sustainable Development	Description
Stage 3	Development and Consolidation stages	Medium to low correlation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dependency on tourism as an economic activity• Medium to low level of community participation• Control over resources lost to outside investors• Large scale tourism and infrastructural development• Sale of land to outside developers• Low interest in environmental issues• Raising cost of land and living at destination areas.• Competition for natural resources• Tension among local residents of the host destination• Low level of coordination between the main stakeholders

Stage three correlates to the development stage of a destination's life cycle. As the destination area passes to the destination stage of the TALC model there is a notable rise in the number of tourists, largely due to an increase in the promotion of the area. It is during this third phase of the STDC model that the destination area begins to move away from the principles of sustainability as more outside influences come into play. At this point community involvement tends to decrease as 'outsiders' are brought in to fulfil certain skill sets. The inability of the host community to participate, whether owing to a lack of finance, expertise, or because of political power, means that most income is leaked out of the destination/host community to either regional capitals, capital cities, or abroad. As the destination becomes more popular, foreign investors begin to take over and the local community is pushed

further out of the planning and development process. No longer considered a major stakeholder in the promotion of tourism, the local community is often left to scratch a living in the informal sector and bear the burden of negative costs. Therefore, the very nature of tourism makes endogenous development an unrealistic objective. Economic, political and social factors, which occur at international, national and local level, make it difficult for destination areas/countries to maintain control over tourism-related development and consequently, direct the benefits to where they are needed most. By the time a destination area reaches the 'consolidation stage', the usual scenario is that very few sustainable development principles are no longer incorporated into tourism development. As more stakeholders, more often than not investors from outside the community, become involved, expansion becomes uncontrolled and its rate increases. Outsiders begin buying land and establishing their own operations on a larger scale than the locals. Buildings are constructed without planning regulations in place to meet growing demand.

Intra-generation equity is hard to achieve, especially in developing countries, because the focus is on surviving now and not the well-being of future generations. Poverty does not encourage sustainable practices; rather it encourages people to seek a quick return in order to meet immediate needs. The sale of land to 'outsiders' contributes further to loss of control over the tourism process by communities, while pushing up the cost of land and living in the destination area, making it difficult for local residents to remain in the locality. At this stage, tourism becomes the dominant economic activity and instead of acting as a means of diversifying the local economy, it tends to displace other more traditional economic activities, such as agriculture. Additional pressure is placed on resources, particularly water and land, as tourism competes with other economic sectors operating in the locality. There is very little coordination between the main stakeholders and capacity building is no longer viewed as a priority among the local community due to the influx of skilled workers to the area. When the importance of tourism as an economic activity increases, divisions of class, power and status within the community tend to accentuate as residents compete to be involved. Invariably, local communities are not homogenous and as the unequal distribution of the benefits of tourism occurs, resentment is often bred between neighbours. Self-mobilisation can consequently be rendered problematic. Participation in the planning and development of tourism is relational and input is very much dependant on what an individual gets out of the

process. Community participation does not necessarily lead to ‘development’, individual actions are guided by particular interests and these in turn can affect development goal outcomes and processes. In order for tourism development to be successful, community-orientated efforts need to be geared towards the overall requirements of the host population and not the individual, an issue which is often difficult to overcome.

Table 31 Classic Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Model – Stage 4

Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Stage	Life Cycle Stage	Correlation with the Principles of Sustainable Development	Description
Stage 4	Stagnation Stage	Low correlation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low level of participation • Degradation of the environment • High level of overseas leakage and foreign ownership • Possible resentment towards tourists • Very few locally owned businesses • No coordination between the main stakeholders

Stage four is associated with stagnation stage of a destination’s life cycle. Butler (1980) argues that it is during the stagnation stage that a destination areas full capacity is reached, resulting in a stabilisation and eventual decline in tourist numbers, as new areas open up and become more enticing to visitors. During fourth phase of the STDC model, community participation is at a low. Most hotel and restaurant owners are from outside the local community. As a consequence of the promotion of international tourism by large hotel and tour companies, money begins to flow out and profits stay in the country of origin. Given their market connections and control over tourism flows, they have an overwhelmingly competitive advantage over local tourism operators. The package nature of travel allows them to control all aspects of tourism development, providing the most vital services such as tours, transport and accommodation. With a high level of overseas leakage, tourist’s contribution to the local economy is contained to spending small amounts of money

by buying souvenirs. There is no coordination between the main stakeholders as each pursues their own individual agenda. The rapid construction of hotels in the area and the influx of people cause degradation to the local environment. Resources under the control of the tourism sector are exploited and consumed at a high rate, leading to a permanent change in the local environment. Dramatic changes to their local environment tends to lead to disputes between the local community and the tourism sector, both competing for access to natural resources, and may also lead to resentment against tourists by residents.

Table 32 Classic Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Model – Stage 5

Sustainable Tourism Development Cycle Stage	Life Cycle Stage	Correlation with the Principles of Sustainable Development	Description
Stage 5	Reorientation and reinvention stages	No correlation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decisions are made by the main stakeholders whether to withdraw or remain in the area

Stage five corresponds to the reorientation and reinvention stages of a destination's life cycle. With tourist numbers declining, it is during this final stage of the TALC model that the options available to the destination area are carefully considered and the most viable option pursued. Although the destination may no longer be considered to have a tourist-based economy, withdrawal from the tourism industry remains unlikely. Generally, by stage five of the STDC model, the degradation of the environment has led to a decrease in the volume of tourism, prompting calls for action by investors and the tourism sector. Decisions are made by the main stakeholders whether to withdraw or remain in the area. With the local economy dependent on tourism, the decision of these key players will fundamentally affect the local community and further decisions will need to be made regarding its future. The destination area will be forced to confront its situation deciding either to reinvent itself as a tourist destination or to pursue another economically viable activity. Either way, any modification would require more environmental changes through new land-

use patterns and additional construction work; yet again compromising resource-based sustainability.

The STDC model demonstrates how as a destination area passes through the various stages of tourism development it moves further away from the principles of sustainable development and consequently contributes little to the overall sustainable development of the community. Built upon and adapted from Butler's 'tourism area life cycle' theory (1990), the STDC model questions the sustainability of a tourism destination area and evaluates its progress in implementing the principles of sustainable tourism development as it evolves. During the next three chapters these issues are explored further using Cocachimba as a case study.

Chapter 4

The Production and Consumption of Tourism in Cocachimba: The Exploration Stage

At the beginning, when this waterfall was publicised as the third highest waterfall in the fall, I was quite curious but very worried at the same time. Imagine, when tourism began here in March 2006, this community was very small, very humble. We did not have any knowledge of what tourism was, what it was for, what to do, how to attend them, really we did not know anything and then our tourist friends began to arrive to Gocta after it was publicised and we had to deal with them.⁴⁸

Introduction

In the last three decades, structural changes to the global economy have resulted in a diminishing role for agriculture within rural areas (Augustyn, 1998: 191). Agriculture in Peru, as in many other countries, has also suffered from global warming leading to rising temperatures and sea levels as well as a reduction in precipitation and an increase in the frequency of unpredictable weather events. This in turn has prompted the Peruvian government to seek new ways to revive its rural economies. Since Christaller (1963) first proposed the idea that tourism could be considered a growth pole for peripheral regions, it has been widely promoted as a means of addressing the social and economic disparities caused by the severe downturn in traditional agricultural production. As Timothy and White note, 'peripheral locations can be viewed from at least two perspectives: in a regional sense, such as border areas and zones of physical isolation, and in a global economic sense, such as less developed countries' (1999: 228).

Rural tourism is not a new concept. Towards the end of the eighteenth century in the UK and Europe it had emerged as a recognised social leisure activity among the bourgeoisie, as an increasing amount of the emerging middle class toured Europe not for educational purposes but for sightseeing. Prior to this, rural areas had been reserved for recreational activities of the privileged land-owning minority. However,

⁴⁸ Interview 27 with a resident from Cocachimba, 3 June 2011- *Al inicio, cuando esta catarata se publicó como la tercera más alta del mundo, fue bastante curioso y muy preocupante a la vez. Imagínese, cuando el turismo nace aquí en Gocta, en el año 2006, en el mes de marzo, esta comunidad era pequeña, muy humilde. No teníamos el conocimiento de que es el turismo, para que sirve, que se debe hacer, como hacer las atenciones, totalmente no sabíamos nada, y ya los amigos turistas empezaron a venir a Gocta cuando ya se publicó y teníamos que atenderlos.*

by the nineteenth century, rural tourism had become popular in the UK with workers keen to escape the squalor of the expanding industrial cities and the development of the railways made rural areas more accessible to a greater number of people, facilitating the growth of rural tourism (Sharpley and Sharpley, 1997: 48).

With many of Peru's top tourist attractions located in remote, rural areas throughout the country, rural tourism has the potential to be far reaching. As Garrod, Wornell and Youell comment 'the tourism industry has now become the lynch pin of many rural communities, having effectively replaced agriculture in this role' (2006: 118). In the case of Cocachimba, rural tourism has become an important aspect of the village's social and economic development. Located in a region which has been neglected for centuries by the national government due to its inaccessibility and large distance from the capital, residents of Cocachimba have suffered from extreme poverty and hardship. The 'discovery' of the waterfall, Gocta, has provided Cocachimba with a distinctive natural attraction which has great appeal to tourists. In recent years its popularity as a tourist destination has grown and far larger numbers of visitors are now involved. Tourism has not only provided the community with an additional means of income but has become an attractive tool for regional development in the department of Amazonas. With very few unspoiled areas left in the world, Cocachimba appeals to those searching for more remote areas to experience nature at its purest.

National Programme for Rural Community Tourism

In 2008, MINCETUR launched the National Programme for Rural Community Tourism as (i) a means of integrating previously isolated and/or low income areas with few development options into the tourism sector and as a mechanism for redistributing wealth; (ii) to reduce rural to urban migration; and (ii) to capitalise on and respond to what it perceives to be a changing market. Viewed as a means of transferring wealth from richer metropolitan areas to poorer peripheral regions, rural tourism has taken on a developmental and regenerative role. Simultaneously, travellers seek an authenticity to their travels which brings them into close contact with the environment, natural landscapes or places which are outside the common tourist circuit and gives them the opportunity to interact with different people and cultures. This increasing tourism demand for authentic destinations along with the move away from mass, package-type tourism has encouraged the Peruvian

government to invest in rural based tourism as a means of counteracting falling income levels and high unemployment. As Wanhill notes, ‘the product strength of many peripheral areas lie in their strong natural environments and remoteness which make them increasingly attractive for tourism development at a time when ‘green tourism’ is in vogue’ (1997: 50). An ecologically diverse country, with its three distinct geographical areas (the coastal desert, the Andes and the Amazon basin), Peru’s tourism sector has the potential to be far reaching, offering an alternative economic income to peripheral areas and rural communities.⁴⁹ Many of the conditions which contribute to the isolation locations such as Cocachimba are often a major pull factor for tourists.

In today’s world, new trends begin to emerge; a new kind of traveller appears, seeking a different, less crowded experience and a better contact with rural societies. Communities that begin to take initiatives in order to integrate themselves into consolidated tourist circuits are presented with a magnificent economic alternative. Rural community based tourism could become one of the most efficient ways to improve quality of life and social welfare for Peru’s most excluded populations (www.turismoruralperu.gob.pe).⁵⁰

Therefore, the main objective of the Rural Community Tourism Programme is to expand opportunities for local entrepreneurs and producers, strengthen local identity and promote multiculturalism, multilingualism and biodiversity. Advocating the conservation and sustainable use of natural resources, the Programme encourages the involvement of the local population as well as regional and local governments in the management of tourism development. Based on the participation of local families as providers of tourism services, such as accommodation, food services, artisan goods and local guidance, rural community tourism is designed to provide people with additional employment and income whilst reducing migration and the depopulation of peripheral regions. In addition, it aims to institutionalise the programme by developing the skills and abilities of key stakeholders; these include; local and

⁴⁹ National Programme for Rural Tourism – *Programa Nacional de Turismo Rural Comunitario (TRC)*.

⁵⁰ Original Spanish version - *Nuevas tendencias comienzan a surgir en el mundo de hoy, en el que aparece un nuevo tipo de viajero que busca una experiencia distinta, menos masiva, y con un mejor contacto con las sociedades rurales. A las comunidades que empiecen a tomar algunas iniciativas para incorporarse a los circuitos turísticos consolidados del Perú, se les presenta una magnífica alternativa económica de desarrollo. El turismo rural podría convertirse en uno de los medios más eficientes para mejorar la calidad y el bienestar de vida de los pueblos más excluidos del Perú.*

regional authorities, community leaders, rural entrepreneurs and organised civil society (www.turismoruralperu.gob.pe). Rural Community Tourism is defined by MINCETUR as ‘all tourist activities developed in rural areas, in a planned and sustainable manner, based on the participation of local people, organised for the benefit of the community, making rural culture a key component of the product’ (www.turismoruralperu.gob.pe).⁵¹

As a consequence of the recent publicisation of the waterfall, Gocta, Cocachimba has been identified by MINCETUR as one of the potential areas for rural tourism and has been working in cooperation with the regional government (DIRCETUR) to promote sustainable tourism as a tool for socio-economic development in the region. As part of the programme being implemented in Cocachimba, MINCETUR is focusing on developing tourism as an additional income source to the more traditional economic activity of farming, involving the community in the development of sustainable tourism and strengthening links between the private and public sector. It is also keen to promote local knowledge and skills, encouraging community members to invest in tourism and develop products, such as artisan goods, to sell to tourists.

Tourism frequently remains the preferred development path for many rural communities, whose economic conditions leave little opportunity for any other viable options. As a consequence, the potential for economic growth tends to override detrimental environmental and social consequences to the community. It is often the case that once tourists venture beyond the main cities, smaller towns and villages are not equipped to handle the inflow. This is especially true in areas which have previously had little interaction with tourism and lack the sufficient infrastructure needed to accommodate the visitors. In the case of Cocachimba, a village situated in an economically disadvantaged region in northern Peru, the recent arrival of tourism has been viewed as a beacon of hope for a village possessing high levels of poverty. Although tourism is proving to be an effective vehicle for economic development, attempts to adhere to sustainable principles are proving less successful. The economic benefits have undoubtedly contributed to a more comfortable existence for the local community. However, an in-depth analysis of tourism in Cocachimba has

⁵¹ Original Spanish version – *Toda actividad turística que se desarrolla en el medio rural, de manera planificada y sostenible, basada en la participación de las poblaciones locales organizados para beneficio de la comunidad, siendo la cultura rural un componente clave del producto.*

revealed a number of important trends which suggest that short-term economic gain has been and continues to be at the expense of the long-term sustainability of the area.

Cocachimba: A Forgotten Community

Located in the province of Bongará in the Department of Amazonas, Cocachimba is one of six villages which make up the district of Valera.⁵² Its close proximity to the Amazon jungle and Andean mountain ranges makes this region rich in biodiversity. Birds and animals native to Peru, such as the Speckle Chested bird, are only found in the cloud forests between the regions of Amazonas and San Martín, the Emerald Toucanet and the Andean Cock of the Rock, Peru's national bird, inhabit the forests adjoining the village.⁵³ There are also a large variety of plant species distributed throughout the diverse ecosystems which make up the surrounding landscape. Traditionally, local people have used these plants in medicines and in home construction. Plants like the Carqueja bush, (a well know remedy to cure bad stomach and rheumatic pains) and the Alder tree, used to stop haemorrhages, heal wounds and relieve headaches and colds, are employed regularly by this small community.

What makes this area so spectacular is its extraordinary beauty. Located in the Utcubamba valley, the endless steep mountain ranges and deep canyons cast an enchanting spell on the eye, beckoning one to discover its secrets. Hidden deep in its cloud forests is the small village of Cocachimba, with less than 200 residents. Leaving the Olmos-Bagua highway descending from Chachapoyas, the road surface suddenly switches from smooth tarmac to rough gravel. For 30 minutes the road winds higher and further into the thick cloud forests until it finally levels out and for the first time one catches a glimpse of Gocta, gushing down the edge of the mountain. As the road descends, there are a few small houses dotted around, surrounded by luscious green vegetation; soon the corrugated iron rooftops of Cocachimba begin to appear in the distance.

⁵² The province of Bongará consists of 12 districts: Chisquilla, Churruja, Corosha, Cuispes, Florida, Jazán, Jumbilla, Recta, San Carlos, Shipsabamba, Valera and Yambrasbamba. Six small villages make up the district of Valera: San Pablo, Cocahuayco, Cocachimba, La Coca, Nuevo Horizontes and Tingorbamba.

⁵³ Other bird species found in this area include the grey-breasted Mountain Toucan, Marañón Thrush, Masked Trogon and Marvelous Spatuletail.

The small annex was founded by labourers of the nearby ranch, San Antonio, which was established by Don Mariano Sánchez in La Coca, around 100 years ago. The area, mainly populated by labourers and tenants who worked for the hacienda, was originally called Cocachumba and, it is said, was renamed after the landlord who purchased the property with a large quantity of coca leaves. As the local population began to increase and less space became available for farming and building, two families, the Yaltas and Mendozas, crossed the river Cajuache in search of land and settled in the place that was to become Cocachimba. The name of the village is made up of two words: coca, the name of the settler's original dwelling, and Chimba from the Quechua *chinpay*, which mean 'to cross to the other bank', symbolising the crossing of the river Cajuache. The land reform, which took place under the military government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado in the 1970s, saw local labourers and tenants take control of the ranch. With land now available for cultivation, migrants from Luya and Chachapoyas began to arrive and settle in Cocachimba.

Cocachimba is a community of some 30 households, located three kilometres from the district capital, San Pablo.⁵⁴ Whilst the majority of houses are located around a small green which acts as the centre of the village, a few others are scattered on a ridge overlooking the main residential area. Surrounding the village are small parcels of farm land, nestled in the hills. All the houses are built from traditional hand-made adobe bricks, packed with a mixture of clay soil, sand and straw. Some have been plastered over whereas others remain exposed to the elements. Women sit outside their houses, talking, weaving or preparing food whilst the majority of men are found either farming their small plots of land or attending to tourists. The settlement is small, with the bare facilities. There is a recently constructed nursery, a school which only teaches primary children, the local community centre and the evangelical church, which is regularly attended by villagers. There are two hostels, one modern hotel, two restaurants which double up as shops, selling basic items, two small kiosks operating out of houses, one café selling fruit juices and the tourism office.⁵⁵ At the end of the village the view is dominated by the sight of the waterfall and from here the rugged path to Gocta winds through the small parcels of farm land and into the thick cloud forests that surround it.

⁵⁴ See Appendix 11 for map of Cocachimba and Appendix 12 for map key.

⁵⁵ The two hostels and hotel also have restaurants.

Residents are expected to actively participate in communal life by attending regular meetings and contributing to any decision-making concerning the village. Although the rules may be unwritten everyone is aware of the responsibilities that come with being a member of the community. Residents of Cocachimba are obliged to participate in communal *faenas* or tasks, which occur on a regular basis. Tasks include cleaning channels, constructing public buildings, maintaining roads and buildings and collecting litter from around the village.

Until 2006, Cocachimba had altered very little since its foundation at the turn of the last century. However, with the arrival of tourism, it has begun to change as the capitalist world of the twenty first century begins to percolate into village life. A two hour trek from the nearest road, all goods were either carried on back or by horse to market. For many years the lack of an accessible road left the village isolated, visited only by relatives and the citizens of surrounding villages. The first road was only completed in 2007, followed by the first electrical power line in 2008. Prior to this, there was no light and the village was in darkness. It was impossible to watch the news, nobody owned electronic artefacts such as televisions or fridges and the only contact with the outside world was by battery powered radio. In interviews conducted with residents, Cocachimba was frequently described as '*olvidado*' or forgotten, with most feeling that before the arrival of tourism Cocachimba was a 'sad' place to live and life was very hard. Sitting outside her small humble home with her elderly mother, Señora Isabella, a middle aged woman, reminisces about her life before tourism. Having been abandoned by her husband and left to look after her children, Señora Isabella, like other residents, used to spend all her time in the fields where she grew sugar cane and some fruits, such as pineapple. Everyday, she would get up at sunrise and begin the long walk to her small patch of land, where she would spend the whole day. Constantly worried about money and putting food on the table, life was a struggle. Her daughters, she explained, wanted her to go and live in Lima with them, but as her mother was still alive she wished to stay and look after her. The arrival of tourism in Coacachimba has allowed Señora Isabella to continue living in the village. Working firstly as a receptionist for six months and later, after gaining in confidence, as one of the few female guides, she has been able to able to earn the additional income she needed to support her family. Remembering this time, she recounts:

Before when there were no tourists, this village was sad, almost forgotten. When we grinded and made our *chancaca*, we had to carry it on our backs to a place called New Horizon, but now no. Sometimes we consume it here and if there is enough we take it by car or they come and so it is a lot quicker and we do not suffer so much.⁵⁶

In order to buy everyday foodstuffs and sell their products, residents were forced to walk to the neighbouring village of Cocahuayco, where they frequently paid over the odds for purchases and were underpaid for their products. Unable to get to the market at Pedro Ruíz, as there was no road at this point, villagers had little alternative but to purchase items such as rice, cooking oil, sugar and kerosene for their oil lamps, from Cocahuayco. Prior to the arrival of tourism, all surplus produce and livestock were sold outside of Cocachimba, with residents unable to buy from each other because they themselves were unable to sell their produce. Señor Alfredo, a local farmer who also works once or twice a week as a guide depending on how busy he is in the fields, explained;

In order to buy our kitchen supplies for a week we had to go to Cocahuayco. There the people ripped us off with our products; they didn't want to pay its price. It has changed now there is the road as the products and the people go directly to Pedro Ruiz from here. They go by car and return by car, they bring their supplies and products from here, some potatoes, some *chancaca* or anything else and they bring it directly from here. When they constructed the road, they were against the machines in Cocahuayco, they did not want the machine to start the road. When the tractor was working, they stopped it because they did not want an improvement. They thought that the road would ruin them and it was so. Before we begged them to sell to them and for supplies, now they beg from us.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Interview 22 with a resident of Cocachimba, 18 May 2011 - *Antes cuando no había turistas este pueblito era triste, casi olvidado. Cuando nosotros hacíamos la molienda y hacíamos nuestra chancaca teníamos que cargar a la espalda hasta un lugar que se llama 'Nuevo Horizonte' pero ahora ya no. A veces aquí mismo lo consumen y así si hay suficiente lleva en el carro o vienen y así se hace más rápido, ya no sufrimos tanto.*

⁵⁷ Interview 16 with a resident of Cocachimba, 04 May 2011 - *Para comprar nuestros víveres de cocina para el sustento de una semana, teníamos que ir a comprar a Cocahuayco, ahí entonces la gente nos estafaba con nuestros productos, no querían pagar su precio, cambio ahora como hay carretera, el producto se va a Pedro Ruiz, ya se andaba la gente. Van en carro, vuelven en carro, traen sus víveres y los productos de acá, sacas un poco de papa, sacas un poco de chancaca o cualquier otra cosa y directamente desde acá ya lo llevan. Cuando construyeron la carretera, en Cocahuayco se pusieron en contra de las maquinarias, no querían que entre la maquina a comenzar la carretera. Cuando estaba trabajando el tractor, lo hacían parar porque no querían que hay una mejora. Pensaban que con la carretera ellos se fregaba y fue así pues. Antes nosotros los rogábamos para venderles y para los víveres, ahora ellos nos ruegan a nosotros.*

Cocachimbas' economy and survival has always been highly dependent on agriculture and its temperate climate makes this region ideal for the production of sugar cane and maize. With the majority of the small parcels of land used for farming located on the steep mountain sides, farming methods tend to be basic. The smaller and more inaccessible terraces are worked by hand, the larger ones ploughed by mule. The inaccessible routes to the terraces make it impossible for tractors and other machines to be used. As a consequence, the work is labour intensive. Involving up to six people a day, the work load is normally shared between family members. In some cases the men sell or offer their labour on a casual basis to other members of the community. Most of the peasant farmers grow enough food to feed their family on their parcels and all other available space is used for cash crops. Located amongst the terraces are rudimentary sugar cane mills. Using a crusher made out of wood, whose cogs are turned by a lever pulled by one or two horses, the cane is grounded and its juice extracted. The juice flows through canals to containers where it is boiled for four to five hours. Once the water has evaporated from the juice, the containers are removed from the fire and the molasses residue is vigorously stirred until it cools. Once it reaches cooling point, the molasses is poured into wooden moulds and left to harden.

In a region which already suffered from poor soil quality, agriculture production in Cocachimba has felt the brutal effects of climate change and the weather phenomenon *El Niño*. Significant changes to the seasons have led to sporadic extreme weather conditions and as a result tourism has become even more important to the villagers survival strategies. In discussing the recent changes to weather patterns in the area, Señor Emilio, a farmer all his life, explained:

For seven months there was a drought which spoilt the fields. First they were very damp, then the summer came and it dried all the land. It also destroyed the seasons. Now planting is not like before when we knew when we were going to sow the seeds. Now we don't. One moment it's raining, the next it's sunny and so the plant doesn't produce well. Because of this we have been very sad. But now we are happy because we have tourism from Gocta and we are receiving some money, one way or another.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Interview 27 with a resident of Cocachimba, 3 June 2011 - *Por siete meses hubo sequía, malogró todos los terrenos. Primero se humedeció mucho y después vino el verano y se secó el terreno y también malogró las estaciones. Ahora la siembra no es como antes, se sembraba y se sabía cuándo vamos a cosechar. Ahora no. En un momento llueve, en un momento solea, de la manera que a la*

Part of large family, Señor Emilio pointed out how the difficult conditions that accompanied farming and life in Cocachimba forced many to leave the village in search of work. One of eleven brothers and sisters, only him and two other siblings (Señora Isabella and Señor José) remained in Cocachimba; the rest had migrated to Lima, Tarapoto or Chachapoyas in a bid to escape a gruelling life in the fields. The high level of migration to neighbouring provinces or the capital prior to the arrival of tourism altered the demographics of Cocachimba. Consequently, there are few young people living in the village. His wife, Señora Yuliana, who, when not in the fields, helps her daughter-in-law in the kitchen of their small restaurant located at the edge of the village where the path begins to Gocta, explained that some people are starting to return to the village. She also observed that a lack of opportunities, financial insecurity and boredom among the youth, have contributed to people migrating to neighbouring provinces and the capital:

Many people that wanted to prosper here could not so they decided to leave. So many have left the village to go to other places, some have gone to Moyabamba, Bagua or Chachapoyas. When they heard about the tourism here and the number of visitors we receive, some of those decided to return now that there is a means of earning money but not all of them. Before there were many more families here but they left selling their houses and land to others in village. For example my nephew, when his father died, the brother of my husband, he left his house and my nephew left at the age of thirteen. When a young man, it was already known that there was tourism here, so he came, repaired it and made the house a hostel and he is working. But, now again he went to Chachapoyas to work but his mum she came. He went because he probably wanted to get a little more money. They gave him the chance to work on the road from Chachapoyas to Mendoza; some friend gave him this opportunity so he went.⁵⁹

planta no la hace producir bien. Por eso hemos estado muy tristes. Pero ahora estamos contentos porque ya el turismo por Gocta estamos percibiendo algo de dinero, de una u otra manera.

⁵⁹ Interview 15 with a resident of Cocachimba, 15 April 2011 - *Mucha gente que quería prosperar no podía, más bien se decidieron salir, se han salido hartos de acá del pueblo a otro lugar y algunos han ido por Moyabamba, por parte de Bagua, Chachapoyas, decidieron salirse y ahora cuando ya supieron que el turismo está por acá, entran cantidad de visitantes y hay un medio de poder obtener el dinero, algunos ya se están regresando, sí, pero ya no todos, éramos más números de familia antes, se han salido vendiendo sus casitas a los habitantes del mismo pueblo han vendido sus terrenos y se han salido. Por ejemplo mi sobrino, cuando su papá murió, el hermano de mi esposo, dejó su casita y mi sobrino había quedado a la edad de trece años. Cuando joven, ya había sabido que el turismo está por acá, el vino y la arregló y quedó para hospedaje la casita y él está trabajando. Pero ahora nuevamente se fue por Chachapoyas a trabajar, pero su mamá ya lo ve. Se ha ido por querer obtener un poco más dinero seguramente, le han dado una facilidad de trabajo en la pista de Chachapoyas a Mendoza, algún amigo le ha dado esa oportunidad y se ha ido.*

Tourism Development in Cocachimba: Gocta as a Tourist Attraction

Tourism in Cocachimba undoubtedly began with the announcement of what the municipality of Chachapoyas described as the world's third highest waterfall, Gocta. Despite being given this title, the World Waterfall Database, which has mapped and measured Gocta, has currently labelled it as the fifteenth highest waterfall. It describes Gocta, as a tall, moderate to high volume waterfall, which drops a total of 771 metres in two leaps. The upper tier falls about 213 metres and the lower drop around 518 metres (www.worldwaterfalldatabase.com). The table below list the world's top 20 tallest waterfalls; Angel Falls in Venezuela is the tallest in the world at 979 metres.

Table 33 List of the World's Tallest Waterfalls by Total Overall Height

Name	Total Height (Metres)	Province/State	Country
Angel Falls	979m	Bolívar	Venezuela
Tugela Falls	948m	Kwazulu Natal	South Africa
Three Sisters Falls	914m	Junín	Peru
Olo'upena Falls	900m	Hawaii	USA
Yumbilla Falls	896m	Amazonas	Peru
Vinnufossen Falls	865m	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
Skorgefossen Falls	864m	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
Pu'uka'oku Falls	840m	Hawaii	USA
James Bruce Falls	840m	British Colombia	Canada
Browne Falls	836m	South Island	New Zealand
Kjerrskredfossen Falls	830m	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
Wailhilau Falls	792m	Hawaii	USA
Colonial Creek Falls	783m	Washington	USA
Mongefossen Falls	773m	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
Gocta Falls	771m	Amazonas	Peru
Balåifossen Falls	765m	Hordaland	Norway
Johannesburg Falls	751m	Washington	USA
Yosemite Falls	739m	California	USA
Tjøtafossen Falls	738m	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
Cloudcap Falls	732	Washington	USA

Source: Data collected by World Waterfall Database (October 2012)

Although the falls may not be considered the third highest, they can undoubtedly be considered as one of the major waterfalls of South America and one of the best in the

world.⁶⁰ The irregularity over its status has caused some confusion to tourists. As the MINCETUR representative for the Rural Community Tourism Programme pointed out, the claim over its height 'is generating much disappointment for some tourists who arrive knowing Iguazú and Angel Falls, which are, well, spectacular. Here is something pretty but for example if you come in summer, you will not find much, a mist of water, and then you ask where the waterfall is'.⁶¹ Of course, it is during the rainy season that the waterfall is at its best.

Even though Gocta is the main and most publicised waterfall in Amazonas, there are three other falls in the region, all well in excess of 400 metres high. Yumnilla is actually the tallest not only in Amazonas but in Peru, not Gocta as previously publicised. There are also two smaller waterfalls, Chinata (measured at 580m) and Pabellón which is still to be mapped and measured, but is thought to be between 400 and 500 metres.

Although villagers living in the surrounding area were aware of its presence, it was not until German engineer Stefan Ziemendorff announced its existence on 1 March 2006 at a press conference held at the municipality of Chachapoyas that the world became aware of Gocta, some six years after he first stumbled upon it.⁶² In an interview discussing the discovery of Gocta, Ziemendorff recounts how in 2002 whilst visiting other ruins in the Utcubamba valley with friends, he noticed the waterfall from a distance. As it was during the rainy season the waterfall was very visible and after observing how slow the water was falling, the group began to wonder how high it actually was. Unable to locate the waterfall on the map and observing some small villages nearby, he asked the local guide who was accompanying the group where it was. Only able to tell him it was in the district of San Pablo, the guide encouraged them to inquire in Chachapoyas. Returning two years later, after making further inquiries, Ziemendorff was sent to the district of San Carlos, where the waterfall La Chinata is located. Upon arriving, he soon realised this was not what he was looking for and returned to Chachapoyas disappointed. It

⁶⁰ According to the World Waterfall Database, Gocta is fifth in its top 100 waterfalls to see. In first place is Iguazú Falls on the border with Argentina, Panama and Brazil, second is Kaieteur Falls in Guyana, third is Victoria Falls on the border with Zambia and Zimbabwe, and fourth is Angel Falls in Venezuela.

⁶¹ Interview with MINCETUR representative, 10 August 2011 – *Está generando muchas desilusiones en algunos turistas que ya viene conociendo Iguazú, Salto del Ángel, que son, pues, espectacular. Aquí es algo bonito pero por ejemplo vas en verano y no encuentras casi nada, una neblina de agua y entonces te preguntas donde está la catarata.*

⁶² See Appendix Nine for press release.

was in May 2005 when he finally arrived in Cocachimba in search of Gocta. Describing his journey he commented:

We went to Cocahuayco, but during this time they had just started to construct the road and it was not clear how we could get there. So from Cocahuayco we walked to La Coca and to Cocachimba where we asked who could take us to the waterfall. If you are in Cocachimba it appears close, some ten minutes. However you soon realise that this is not case. During this time there was no path and they told us that they did not know how we could get there, but they could get us nearer.⁶³

About a hundred metres from Cocachimba, the small group encountered a local man from the village and began to inquire as to how to get to the waterfall. In recounting the conversation with Ziemendorff, the local man, Señor José, who later accompanied the German on his adventure to discover Gocta, answered;

The man said to me, I want to ask you a question. Have you ever been to this waterfall that you see every day? No I answered, then he asked me why and I said to him the reason that we don't know the waterfall is that those of us from here, we only look at the waterfall, no more. Then I told him our parents and grandparents brought us up to be afraid of it and told us not to go there.⁶⁴

Asking Señor Jose, to accompany him on his search, who after some apprehension agreed, the small group set off passing through the small parcels of farm land and into the forest to try to catch a glimpse of the waterfall. Following the guide, the group arrived at a lookout point from where they could see the splendour of Gocta. Deciding, that he could not let this amazing sight remain unseen, he vowed to return at a later date.

I think that it was towards the end of 2005 that the International Geography Atlas and its 18 volumes came out. In one there were various lists of the largest lakes, the depth

⁶³ Interview with Stefan Zeimendorff, 28 July 2011 - *Fuimos a Cocahuayco que en este tiempo habían comenzado a construir la carretera y no se pudo subir entonces fuimos caminando desde Cocahuayco, caminamos hasta la coca y Cocachimba, ahí preguntamos quien puede llevarnos a la catarata porque si tu estas en Cocachimba parece cerca, tú te das cuenta, uno ve y dice está a 10 minutos, mentira y en ese tiempo no había camino y nos dijeron que no se puede llegar pero podemos llegar un poco más cerca.*

⁶⁴ Interview 14 with a resident of Cocachimba, 01 April 2011 - *¿Señor me dice yo quiero hacer una pregunta, usted alguna vez ha llegado hasta esa catarata que usted la ve todos los días? No señor le digo y él me dice ¿por qué?, y yo le digo, esta es la razón que nosotros no nos vamos a conocer la catarata. Nosotros de acá no más lo vemos todo el tiempo, entonces le digo, nuestros papacitos, nuestros abuelitos nos han criado medio tímido, ellos nos decían que no nos vayamos por ahí.*

of the sea and a list of the largest waterfalls. Seeing this, I said, at least this is fifth because I think it is more than 500 metres high, we should measure it.⁶⁵

It was in February 2006 that Ziemendorff made his return. Armed with camping equipment, the engineer along with a few local villagers set off determined to reach the waterfall. Passing through the last parcel of cultivated land the group descended down the steep terrain and, carrying machetes to clear a path began to follow the river in the direction of Gocta until they arrived at a small lagoon. At this point the group was forced to stop as the path began to disappear, making it difficult and dangerous to go on with the light fading. Here the few local villagers who had accompanied Ziemendorff left to return to tend to their livestock and promised to return tomorrow. The following day the group set off again, forcing their way through the forest until they arrived at the first fall of the waterfall late afternoon. Setting up camp, the group swam in the small pond of water at the bottom of Gocta and the following day took the GPS reading at the base point. Remembering his night spent in the forest, Ziemendorff recounts how the group were forced to move the tent as the waterfall began to soar and the river fill up:

It was already night and we said if we leave the tent here then the river will carry it away. So we carried it up a little, but it was very difficult to put the tent up in another place and we put it in a very uncomfortable spot. I practically slept on a stone which was underneath the tent, but at dawn it was very beautiful in this place, with the sun coming up and the view of the waterfall.⁶⁶

Unable to measure its height due to a lack of equipment, the group was forced to return the following month. On 26 February, with the help of a topographer from the municipality of Chachapoyas, the height of the waterfall was measured at 771 metres with a margin of error of 13.5 metres. Three days later, the existence of Gocta was announced to the world and Cocachimba was officially launched as a tourist destination. The publication of this previously 'hidden' waterfall captured the

⁶⁵ Interview with Stefan Zeimendorff, 21 April 2011 - *Me parece que a fines del 2005 salió el Atlas 'International Geography' de 18 tomos y en uno de ellos había varios listados de las lagunas más grandes, la profundidad del mar y un listado de las cataratas más grandes. Ahí veo y digo por lo menos esta quinto porque tenía más de 500 metros y digo vamos hacer la medición.*

⁶⁶ Interview with Stefan Zeimendorff, 28 July 2011 – *Ya era de noche y dijimos si dejamos la carpa acá se va a llevar el río en la noche, entonces le subimos un poquito pero era muy difícil poner la carpa en otro lugar y hemos puesto en un lugar muy incómodo. Yo dormí sobre una piedra prácticamente debajo de la carpa pero al amanecer era muy hermoso en este sitio con el sol saliendo y la vista de la catarata.*

popular imagination and soon articles began appearing in local, national and international newspapers.

Despite the fact that Gocta was clearly visible from the surrounding villages of La Coca and San Pablo, with Cocachimba located almost directly beneath it, the waterfall managed to remain hidden for generations, with locals keeping close to their homes, farmland and avoiding the waterfall. Returning to the village and curious to know why the villagers were so afraid to venture near the waterfall, Ziemendorff asked Don José:

Mr, you are from here so you must know some stories about our waterfall Gocta? Yes sir, I answered and I told him three stories. One was about the Laguna de Ochenta and two about the waterfall.⁶⁷

Surrounded by a large dense forest, the limited access to the waterfall and the legends that surrounded it kept the locals away. It was said that anyone who ventured into the forest and strayed near the waterfall would disappear, just like the legend of Don Gregorio and the mermaid. The first legend recounted by the guide was of a man called Gregorio who lived in the district of Valera and made his living by making fireworks for the various villages in the area to celebrate patron saints' days. At some point, Don Gregorio began to prosper economically and changed from making fireworks to selling beautiful gold and silver jewellery. The people, seeing the quantity of objects of great worth, were surprised as to how he had obtained such riches. One day when Don Gregorio arrived home late, his wife noticed that his pockets were full of jewellery. Feeling jealous, she made a plan to follow him the next time he went to the waterfall. Seeing her husband leave she began to follow him. Stopping a short distance from the Laguna where the water fell, she saw her husband sitting on a stone and next to him was a woman whose top half of her body was human like, but the bottom was of a fish tail. Filled with jealousy, Don Gregorio's wife decided to take a closer look and as she approached both her husband and the mermaid disappeared into the Laguna, never to be seen again. Frightened the wife fled back to the village where she told the tale of how her husband had been enchanted by a mermaid that possessed a pot of gold with lots of jewellery hidden in the waters of Gocta.

⁶⁷ Interview 14 with a resident of Cocachimba, 1 April 2011 – *Señor, ya que usted natural de acá, debe saber algunas historias de nuestra catarata de Gocta? Si señor le dice y le conté tres historias. Lo que les conté era de la Laguna de Ochenta y dos de la catarata de Gocta.*

As the legend of Don Gregorio, the mermaid and his mysterious disappearance became passed down from generation to generation, all those living in the area feared that should they venture near the waterfall the same would happen to them. One villager explained: 'They told us this legend and it was with this message that we were brought up. Nobody wanted to go to die there in Gocta'.⁶⁸ Although the legend had played a large role in village life for many years, it was seen as a deterrent to warn people off venturing to the waterfall. Nobody seemed to know when the legend had first started, just that they had heard it from parents and grandparents, passed from generation to generation.

The second legend, known as the gold ring and the serpent, describes how some years later, following the disappearance of Don Gregorio, a group of farmers who grazed their livestock near to the forest, lost a cow. In the search for the missing animal, they fearfully entered the forest, following the path towards the waterfall. All the men were astonished to see a large gold pot full of silver and jewellery. The treasure was protected by a mermaid, a large snake and a mysterious man. None of them ever returned to confirm what they saw. However, all of them knew the story about the man that was bewitched and got lost in the cold waters of the lake. Some confirmed hearing fireworks that came from deep within the waterfall. Everybody was convinced that the noises represented warnings from the bewitched Don Gregorio.

Made up of two drops, the water that feeds the waterfall comes from high up in the cloud forest. After collecting in a pool, the water plummets 771m down the side of the mountain, flowing into the Cocahuayco River. Known as '*la laguna de ochenta*' ('the pool of eighty'), Señor José explained that the legend that surrounds the pool of water narrates a tale of a girl's search for a young man to marry:

After searching throughout Amazonas without success, the villages of Yurumarca, Tauca, Semita, Chiquín, located near to the large pool, decided to hold a communal workday and repair the Taupa Bridge between Chachapoyas and Molinopampa. Many people went to the communal work day and upon arriving at the site sat down to chew coca. A girl appeared coming down the path, and near to where the group were gathered she began to greet them, shaking their hands. In the group was a young man from Taupa and when the girl approached where he was sitting, she looked at him and said

⁶⁸ Interview 27 with a resident of Cocachimba, 3 June 2011 - *Es que con ese mensaje nos habíamos criado y dábamos esa leyenda por cierto y nadie quería ir a morir ahí en Gocta.*

‘come, I need you’. Taking him to one side, they fell in love and began to flirt. With the girl ready to have sex, the young man began to get nearer to play with her. However, he was unable to get too close as her secret part was covered in thorns. As he was unable to do anything with the girl, he stood up, thought and said: ‘what shall I do now to have this girl?’ Then the thought came to him: ‘I am going to get a piece of leather’. He went and got it and cut a circle with a small hole in the middle and put it firmly in place. Then he went to see the girl again and as she was in love with him she accepted him and they had sex. Afterward the girl told him: ‘you were the one for me, I have looked in all of Amazonas for a young man like you but I did not find you and then I came here and found you’. She stood up and said ‘now you will follow me wherever I go’ and the young man, after deciding, said yes. The young man Taupino and the girl Casharaca (*casharaca* in Quechua is thorns and *raca* refers to female genitals) climbed high towards the village of Yurumarca and the *laguna de Ochenta*. And, enjoying themselves they stayed there.⁶⁹

Returning unharmed from his trip to the waterfall with the German adventurer and having dared to confront the legends surrounding Gocta and his fears, Señor José was given a hero’s reception after reporting to his fellow villagers that there appeared to be nothing untoward; but simply at the end was a spectacular waterfall. Being the only person who had volunteered to accompany Ziemendorff, Señor José has become something of a local celebrity amongst the residents of Cocachimba, and

⁶⁹ Interview 14 with a resident of Cocachimba, 07 April 2011 – *Había una chica que andaba buscando un joven con quien casarse. Lo buscaba en todo Amazonas y era difícil para ella encontrarlo. Para esto, los pueblos cercanos a la laguna decidieron hacer una faena comunal. Los pueblitos de Yurumarca, Tauca, Semita, Chiliquín habían citado a la faena para arreglar el puente de Taupa entre Chachapoyas y Molinopampa. Entonces se fueron a la faena comunal mucha gente y al llegar al sitio de trabajo se sentaron a chacchar la coca. A ellos que están chacchando aparece una chica viendo por el camino, se acercaba y al llegar donde estaban todos reunidos comenzó a saludarlo dándoles la mano. En el grupo se encontraba sentando un joven de Taupa y cuando la chica llegó hasta donde estaba él, lo miro y le dijo “ven, te necesito”, lo llevo hacia un lado y bueno ahí se enamoraron los dos y se invitaron a hacer el sexo. Bueno entonces la chica ya estaba lista, el joven se estaba acercando a la chica para jugar con ella y no pudo acercarse porque la chica al contorno de su parte secreta tenía espinas. Entonces el chico, al no poder hacer nada con la chica, se levantó y pensó y se dijo “que hago ahora para gozar a esta chica”, y entonces le vino al pensamiento “voy a conseguirme un pedacito de cuero de oveja”. Se fue y lo consiguió y lo corto en redondito y al medio un agujerito y lo coloco bien colocadito. Entonces fue de nuevo a ver a la chica y como ella estaba bien enamorada del joven, lo aceptó y pasó lo que paso. Luego la chica le dijo “muy bien tú has sido para mí, yo he buscado en todo Amazonas un joven como tú pero no lo encontraba y vine a encontrarte aquí”. Se puso de pie y dijo “ahora tú me vas a seguir a donde yo vaya” y el joven se decidió y dijo ya. Entonces subieron a la altura hacia el pueblo de Yurumarca, donde la laguna de Ochenta y ahí se encantaron los dos, el joven Taupino y la Chica y ahí permanecen los dos en la laguna de Ochenta. La señorita se llama ‘casharaca’, ‘Casharaca’ en quechua es espinas y ‘raca’ es la parte de la mujer.*

a key figure in the development of tourism. Recounting the moment when Señor José bravely volunteered to lead the group, Don Emilio commented:

Nobody wanted to accompany him as we were scared of the legend of the enchanted mermaid, the serpent that devours us and the serpent that protects the wealth of gold. It was with this message that we were brought up and we passed on this legend. Nobody wanted to die there in Gocta and this day we did not want to accompany the German. However, this man said, I will go with you but only as far as a certain point. He did not want to go further, as he also believed in the mermaid that would bewitch him. Therefore, he accompanied the young man until a certain point and the young man entered the waterfall and then dawn broke. The following day he told us that it was very pretty, excellent and that there was nothing bad. He told us that it is all beautiful and that we should all also see it.⁷⁰

Realising that it was 'safe' to visit, other villagers soon followed suit, curious to discover what they had been so afraid of for many years. Señora Rosa, who after her husband's death fourteen years ago went to live in the neighbouring town of Pedro Ruíz, had recently returned to the village. Leaving her job in a hotel where she worked as a cook and cleaner, Señora Rosa had returned to Cocachimba to take care of her son's hostel while he was working away. She explained: 'Nobody before went to Gocta, it was very ugly, tree covered wasteland, but now it is beautiful. I go sometimes to do the trek, twice I have been as a guide but I was very tired, I prefer the kitchen'.⁷¹ Summing up her thoughts on Gocta she continues: 'We have to be thankful to nature that we have Gocta waterfall, maybe we will find something else to show the tourists'.⁷²

Not realising the significance of Gocta, local people had continued to observe the waterfall from a distance until Ziemendorff's expedition. Since the

⁷⁰ Interview 27 with a resident of Cocachimba, 3 June 2011 – *Nadie queríamos acompañarlo porque teníamos miedo por la leyenda de la sirena que encanta, de la serpiente que no devora y la serpiente cuida las riquezas de oro. Es que con ese mensaje nos habíamos criado y dábamos esa leyenda por cierto. Nadie quería ir a morir ahí en Gocta y en ese día no quisimos acompañar al alemán. Este Señor dijo yo voy contigo pero hasta cierta parte. No iba a entrar más allá porque él también estaba con la creencia de la sirena de que lo iba a encantar. Entonces así lo hizo, acompañó al joven hasta cierta parte y el joven entro en la catarata y luego amaneció. Al siguiente día nos contó que era muy bien, excelente, y no hay nada de malo. Nos dijo que todo es hermoso y que teníamos que conocer nosotros también.*

⁷¹ Interview 20 with a resident of Cocachimba, 15 May 2011 – *Nadie llegaba antes a Gocta, era muy feo, montaña, pero ahora es bonito. Yo me voy a veces hacer la caminata, dos veces he ido de guía pero mucho me canso, yo prefiero la cocina.*

⁷² Interview 20 with a resident of Cocachimba, 15 May 2011 – *Hay que dar gracias a la naturaleza que tenemos a la catarata de Gocta y de repente encontramos algo más que mostrar a los turistas.*

announcement of the existence of Gocta in 2006 by Ziemendorff, attitudes towards the waterfall have changed considerably. No longer afraid of the legends that surround it, Gocta has taken on a new role and a new found importance. Instead of being told to keep people away from Gocta, the legend is now narrated to tourists, adding to the enchantment that surrounds this mysterious place. Locals have reported that adjacent to Gocta there are archaeological sites from the Chachapoyan era, with some even claiming that there are sarcophagi in the area. These claims, however, remain unconfirmed for now.

Tourism in Cocachimba

A large billboard mounted at the side of the road signals the turn off for Gocta and greets tourists as they begin their ascent to Cocachimba. Put in place by the Regional Government of Amazonas, the sign demonstrates the new focus on peripheral tourism, promoting visits to picturesque rural villages and scenic landscapes. The shift to interior and multifaceted tourism is clear in the National Tourism Strategic Plan launched by MINCETUR, which has highlighted the promotion of rural tourism and diversification of the product. As part of this plan, Cocachimba has been targeted as a destination area for rural tourism. Conjuring up images of a village isolated for centuries, surrounding by thick cloud forests, wild and undiscovered, Cocachimba has become an attraction for those seeking authenticity and interested in nature-based tourism.

As there are no local buses to Cocachimba, the majority of tourists arrive from Chachapoyas on organised tours, with day trips sold by the various tour companies located around the Plaza de Armas for around S/.40. The more adventurous travellers sometimes take a local bus to Cocahuayco and from there walk one-and-a-half hours uphill to Cocachimba. Having received around 10,000 visitors between May 2010 and May 2011, Cocachimba is clearly becoming a popular destination.⁷³ The table below shows the number of tourist arrivals from 1 May 2010 to 31 May 2011:

⁷³ There are no official tourist arrival numbers due to poor record keeping and the lack of a previous registration system. Although not filled out religiously, note books kept by the community give some indication of previous numbers. These indicate that tourist arrival numbers were around 2120 in 2006, 2562 in 2007, 4179 in 2008 and 6388 in 2009. However, figures are likely to be slightly higher given that the notebooks were not filled in every day. Despite this, it clearly shows that tourist arrivals have continued to increase each year. At the end of the fieldwork period Iperu was working closely with the

Table 34 Tourist Arrivals for Cocachimba (1 May 2010 to 31 May 2011)

Month	Total Number of Visitors Per Month
May 2010	869
June 2010	475
July 2010	1576
August 2010	593
September 2010	555
October 2010	837
November 2010	608
December 2010	682
January 2011	944
February 2011	731
March 2011	507
April 2011	719
May 2011	736
Total	9832

Source: Data collected from Cocachimba's registration book, 2010 - 2011

With numbers are set to increase in the next few years as the waterfall is further publicised and the possibility of the airport reopening in Chachapoyas, the issue of carry capacity and the maximum number of tourists Cocachimba can accommodate will need to be addressed by both the local community and the regional and municipal governments. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, the notion of carrying capacity is central in the discussion on sustainable development and is often defined by the amount of use that can be accommodated without degrading or causing irreversible damage to resources. In the case of tourism, carrying capacity is usually measured in terms of the maximum number of people that a destination area can accommodate before there is an unacceptable alteration to the physical environment, a decline in the quality of the recreational experience (Malthienson and Wall, 1982: 184), a saturation of facilities (Pearce, 1989: 169 in Brown et al, 1997: 317) and a negative impact on the society, culture and economy of the area (McIntyre, 1993: 23 in McCool and Lime, 2001: 381). Carrying capacity is a useful means of ensuring that tourism development is carried out in a controlled manner and as a means of limiting the negative impacts of tourism.

community to implement an adequate system and they had been provided with a computer to record the number of arrivals.

Currently, there is no cap on visitor numbers to Cocachimba and little thought has been given to restricting the number of people who can use the trail to the waterfall on a daily basis. The focus is on attracting more visitors to the area rather than limiting numbers or implementing measures or strategies to control tourist flow. However, given the remote location of Cocachimba and Gocta waterfall, its physical and ecological carrying capacity is limited. The narrow trail through the ecologically fragile cloud forests limits the number of visitors it can physically accommodate and the natural environment can absorb. It is difficult to place an exact figure on the number of visitors Cocachimba can accommodate as carrying capacity 'depends not only on its scale and resources but also on its seasonable periodicity and stage of development' (Murphy, 1983: 185). It could be argued that Cocachimba has already reached its carrying capacity in that its present infrastructure cannot accommodate current tourist numbers and it therefore has to develop it and modify its landscape, i.e. build hotels. However, examining the carry capacity of Cocachimba using Lui's five subtypes (2005), the psychological, social and economic limits have not yet been reached and therefore, Cocachimba has not yet reached its full carry capacity. As Cocachimba passes through the various stages of its 'life cycle' and the community undergoes further development and change, carrying capacity will eventually be reached. Therefore, in the coming years, restricted access to the waterfall will be needed to help reduce crowding on the trail, reduce visitor's physical impacts on the local environment and protect its attractivity and viability as a destination location.

As O'Reily (1986) argued, destination areas, such as Cocachimba, face two main concerns regarding their carrying capacity. The first is their ability to absorb tourism before its negative impacts are felt by the hosts and the second is 'the levels beyond which tourist flows will decline because certain capacities as perceived by the tourist themselves have been exceeded' (1986:254). If overuse and overdevelopment occurs the perceptions and satisfaction of tourists will decline, leaving Cocachimba in a precarious position as a tourist destination. In order to avoid destruction or deterioration of the host area, it is crucial that there is an even balance between the physical environment and the quality of the experience (O'Rilley, 1986: 254). In order for this to be achieved restrictions need to be in place to prevent Cocachimba from exceeding its carry capacity. Restrictions on visitor numbers will help slow the rate of development down and help limit the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the local community.

Until 2009 tourism infrastructure in Cocachimba remained very basic. However, since then facilities have gradually improved and investors from outside the village have begun to build hotels in the village. In the initial stage, the community centre was converted into a tourist office to accommodate the growing number of visitors. A spacious large room decorated with posters advertising Gocta, the community centre acted as the reception area where visitors sign a register and pay an entrance fee, either S/. 5.00 for adults or S/.2.50 for students and children. A guide can be hired for S/.20.00 and horses are available for rent at S/.25.00. In July 2011, a newly constructed tourism office was opened, accommodating a reception area, a storage space holding outdoor gear (also available to rent), as well as a space selling local artisan goods and other souvenirs related to Gocta. The guides available are residents of Cocachimba and have an extensive knowledge of the area. Although, it is possible to walk to the waterfall without a guide, it is recommended to hire one, given that the terrain is difficult and challenging, especially during the wet season. In addition, hiring a guide allows tourists to find out more information about the waterfall, providing they speak Spanish. The legends surrounding Gocta are told to tourists as part of their experience during the 2.5 hour trek to the waterfall through thick cloud forest.

For those travellers who wish to spend the night in Cocachimba, there are two hostels available where a room costs around S/.30 a night. Although facilities are basic, the owners are very hospitable and accommodating. Another option is to stay at the Spanish-owned Gocta Lodge, priced at S/. 159.00 for a single room, S/.199.00 for a double and S/.299.00 for a suite. The hotel offers hot water, plasma televisions, a jacuzzi, swimming pool and restaurant facilities. Located on the edge of the village with a spectacular view of the waterfall, the hotel stands out from the rest of the village and might be considered somewhat inappropriate in an area containing extremely high poverty levels and everyday deprivations. As to be expected, the majority of visitors who stay at the lodge are foreigners, mainly European, North Americans, or rich *Limeños*.⁷⁴ Another hotel, owned by *limeños*, is due to open at the end of 2012 or beginning of 2013 and will be of a similar standard to that of Gocta

⁷⁴ A *limeño* is a person from Lima.

Lodge. With land already sold to outside investors, others hotels are expected to be constructed in the coming years.⁷⁵

When tourism first began to develop in Cocachimba, the majority of residents were, unsurprisingly, ambivalent and afraid of the changes it would bring. Señora Adriana, a middle aged lady who works as a guide and runs a small stall selling fruit juices made from home-grown pineapple, banana and papaya with her daughter, recounts how when tourism was first developing the majority of villagers were against it:

In 2006 the majority of people did not accept tourism, they did not want to. They said that the road would pass through their small parcels of farm land, but now we all talk about tourism and that they must take advantage of it. For example, there was a man who really complained about tourism, however now he earns money for a piece of land that he has. They pay him to leave the horses there when waiting for the tourists. The president of the tourism association, began to talk with the people, he encouraged them. Now we all accept tourism and in some way we all benefit.⁷⁶

As might be expected, the attitudes of residents began to change when visitors started to arrive and the economic benefits associated with tourism became apparent. For many, tourism has given them the opportunity not only to earn an additional income but also to come in contact with people from other countries and other cultures. Since the arrival of tourism residents of Cocachimba have begun to take more interest in the appearance of the village. Worried about how their village would be perceived by tourists, houses which were previously derelict or run down have been repaired and painted and communal work days are regularly organised to collect rubbish scattered around the village. All of the residents interviewed were happy to have visitors to their small community and frequently referred to them as ‘amigos or ‘friends’. Despite being initially shy and apprehensive, with some residents initially hiding from tourists, as time has passed and their confidence has grown around strangers, the majority have welcomed the opportunity to converse and interact with people

⁷⁵ See Appendix Ten for photographs of a local hostel and Gocta Lodge.

⁷⁶ Interview 13 with a resident of Cocachimba, 1 April 2011 – *En el 2006 la mayoría de la gente no aceptaba el turismo, no quería. Decían que la carretera va a pasar por sus chacras pero ahora si todos hablan de turismo que hay que aprovecharlos. Por ejemplo, había un señor que mucho se quejaba por el turismo y sin embargo ahora él gana dinero por un pedazo de terreno que tiene en donde se paga por dejar los caballos para esperar a los turistas. El presidente de la asociación de turismo empezó a conversar con la gente, animarles que participen. Ahora ya todos aceptamos el turismo y de alguna manera todos nos beneficiábamos.*

from outside the village. Summing up her thoughts, Señora Lucia, a restaurateur commented:

We are waiting for more to visit us, to learn more from them. Through the conversations we learn something from them about their countries, how they live, what products they have. Before nobody came here, we run when we saw a stranger. Now it is different, we talk with them, we give them good care and they go happy. Before when the tourists came, we said 'here comes the *gringo*' and we hid but now we like that they visit us, we talk and we are in contact. They ask us many things and they like that we are friendly.⁷⁷

The opportunity for tourism development has also been welcomed by the Municipality of Valera, which is keen to capitalise on its new found status as a tourist destination. The ex-mayor of Valera (December 2003 – December 2010) explained how the district was able to make the most of the benefits generated from tourism to improve the basic facilities of the village.

When the village elected me as mayor, I said that we must make the most of the waterfall, promote it for tourism and to advance our village. First to have basic services and I thought in opening an accessible road to the village and afterwards an energy project, light/electricity. Now we have light 24 hours a day and soon support for the education and health institutions and the glass of milk programme. Next we made an application to the regional government to boost and carry out works for tourism development. For example, now we have a little house for the reception of tourists which is already ready and should start to function soon, the same in San Pablo, where they have also repaired paths and constructed viewing points.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Interview 4 with a resident of Cocachimba, 25 February – *Esperamos que más nos visiten y que podamos aprender más de ellos. Con las conversaciones aprendemos algo de ellos de sus países, de cómo viven, que productos tienen. Antes nadie había por aquí. Nos corríamos cuando veíamos un extranjero. Ahora es diferente, conversamos con ellos, les damos buena atención y ellos se van contentos. Antes cuando venían los turistas, decíamos 'ahí viene el gringo' y nos escondíamos pero ahora no gusta que nos visiten, conversamos y estamos en contacto. Ellos nos preguntan muchas cosas, les gusta que seamos amables.*

⁷⁸ Interview with the ex-mayor of Valera, 9 March 2011 – *Cuando el pueblo me elige de alcalde, me dije hay que aprovechar la catarata, promocionarla para el turismo para adelanto de nuestro pueblo. Primero tener servicios básicos y pensé en apertura una trocha carrózale hasta el pueblo, luego el proyecto de energía, luz/eléctrica. Ahora ya tenemos luz las 24 horas del día y luego apoyar a las instituciones de educación y salud y programa vaso de leche. Luego hemos una gestión ante el gobierno regional para impulsar y hacer obras de desarrollo turístico. Por ejemplo ahora tenemos una casita para recepción del turista que ya está lista y que ya debe empezar a funcionar, igual en San Pablo donde también se han arreglado caminos y se han hecho miradores.*

Despite a change of government in December 2010 as a result of local, regional and national elections, the current mayor of Valera has continued to support tourism development in the district. Like the previous administration it aims to use the benefits to develop basic amenities and provide drainage and sewage systems, running water, as well as an improvement in health and education facilities, which currently remain very basic. Eager to point out its potential as a tourist destination, the mayor explained:

Valera, with the tourism potential that it has, through an important icon like Gocta, should become a strategic place through which tourism can emerge. Viewing it from this side, it is a good economic alternative through which the district can progress. I think that Valera is going to be very important for tourism.⁷⁹

Although, Stefan Ziemendorff is credited with the publicisation of Gocta, the waterfall is located on community land and therefore, is owned by the communities of Cocachimba and San Pablo. In consequence, tourism has only been able to develop in conjunction with the villager's approval. Although it is unclear as to how the decision was made to proceed with development of tourism in Cocachimba, in the period following the official announcement of the 'discovery' of Gocta, the Regional Government of Amazonas in coordination with MINCETUR began its promotion of the area as new tourist destination. During the exploration stage, residents were able to play a large role in the development of tourism in Cocachimba. With Gocta still relatively unknown at this point as a tourist destination, residents were able to provide the services needed to accommodate tourists and faced no competition from outside investors. The only people who knew the route to Gocta, which at the stage was a rudimentary path zigzagging through the cloud forest, residents provided a crucial role in taking tourists back and forth to the waterfall.

During the first few years, the tourist flow was low reaching around 4000 visitors in 2008. Consequently, development was relatively self-contained during this early period. Out of the 50 families that live in the village only three had no involvement with tourism. The majority of those participating worked as guides, rented their horses, sold food by operating restaurants out of their homes or worked

⁷⁹ Interview with the mayor of Valera, 20 August 2011 - *Valera por el potencial turístico que tiene, un icono importante como Gocta, debe convertirse en un lugar estratégico para que a través del turismo pueda emerger. Viéndolo por ese lado es una buena propuesta una buena alternativa económica y tras eso el distrito también se levante. Yo pienso que Valera va ser muy importante para el turismo.*

in the Spanish-owned hotel in the village. Commenting on the level of community participation in tourism, the president of the Community Tourism Association of Cocachimba explained:

I believe that 80 per cent are involved. There are three homes which do not participate. They do not have horses; they do not have a hostel neither a restaurant. Before there were four but now there are three because we gave work to the daughter from one of these homes. In the village we are 50 families. These families do not participate because they still do not have the resources to invest but when there are communal works such as cleaning the paths, everyone participates. The communal works are one or two days and the both days are paid by the association and these families participate as well. One some occasions they feel bad, a little isolated but we are going to see how we can solve this. We always give them the chance to participate in the public works. They are not very interested in tourism, they do not like it when they come to train them and tell them how to do things. Only when they see the benefits do they want to participate but this passes and they lose heart.⁸⁰

The small number of visitors and lack of publicity, allowed the community the space needed to become involved in the production of tourism. Some of the most noticeable changes to the villages have been in its infrastructure and rise in income. Although Cocachimba is still very poor, in recent years it has experienced a rise in income, allowing its residence to purchase basic foodstuffs and, in some cases, luxury items such as televisions and fridges. However, as tourism numbers continue to increase and outsiders begin to settle in the village opening up businesses, the benefits which residents experienced in the last few years have begun to decline.

Despite the initial benefits received by residents of Cocachimba through tourism, there are a number of obstacles which act as a barrier to the future development of tourism in village and obstruct its ability to function as a tool for economic growth and diversification. With a very small resident population, few if any of its members

⁸⁰Interview 29 with a resident of Cocachimba, 8 June 2011 - *Yo creo que ya un 80%. Hay como 3 hogares que no participan, no tienen caballos, no tienen hospedaje, ni restaurante antes eran 4, ahora son 3, porque a una hija de un hogar le hemos dado trabajo. En el pueblo somos como 50 familias. Estas familias no participan porque de repente no tienen recursos aun para invertir, pero cuando hay trabajos comunales, limpieza de caminos todos participan, y 1 día 0 2 son faenas comunales, los demás días ya son pagados se paga con dinero de la asociación y estas familias también participan. En algunas oportunidades se sienten mal, un poco aislados, pero vamos a ver como damos solución a esto, y siempre les damos oportunidad en los trabajos públicos que hay. A ellos no les interesa mucho el tema del turismo, no les gusta que vengan a capacitarlos y les digan cómo deben hacer las cosas, solo cuando ven beneficio como que quieren participar, pero pasa eso y se desaniman.*

possess skills related to the tourism industry. Consequently, local resident's role in tourism is largely restricted to unskilled or low paid jobs. Skilled positions will therefore be filled in the future by workers from outside village. Poor infrastructure and the fragmentation of the tourism sector in the region, restricts Cocachimba's potential as a tourist destination. Any improvement to infrastructure will largely come from the private sector, which will lead to outside investment and influence in the village.

Chapter 5

Community Based Tourism: The Involvement Stage

Tourism development in rural communities will have an impact on the lives of all citizens, whether they are beneficiaries or not. Thus, tourism must be planned keeping the communitarian, collective aspects of community in mind and not simply left to the discretion of individually-oriented entrepreneurs (George, Mair and Reid, 2009: 161).

Introduction

As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, key to the concept of sustainable tourism development is the idea of devising appropriate strategies in cooperation with all major groups and local communities, wherein locally defined development goals are placed at the centre of tourism planning. As George, Mair and Reid note, 'it takes as its guiding principle the idea that involvement in community decision-making contributes to individual learning that enhances the perspectives of the individual involved, which, in turn, provides greater resources to the community for potential future endeavours' (2009: 168).

It is during the involvement stage that communities tend to become more involved in tourism, encouraged by the potential economic benefits on offer. As Murphy notes, 'more communities are developing the tourism potential within their geographic location or cultural heritage as means of diversifying the local economy and increasing local amenities' (1988: 98). Tourism, particularly in developing countries, has traditionally been instigated and controlled by multinational tour operators who pay little attention to local socio-cultural and economic conditions. Therefore, for communities such as Cocachimba, community participation in the development of tourism and the decision-making process is crucial to combat regional or foreign domination and to retain benefits within the community itself. With increasing importance placed upon decentralised decision-making and community action by the Peruvian government, the involvement of local communities in the development process has become an important strategy in the implementation of sustainable tourism practices. The National Strategic Tourism plan launched in 2008, emphasised the promotion of sustainable tourism and the responsible use of cultural and natural resources through the inclusion and integration of groups (i.e. indigenous communities), which have been previously

socially excluded. As Timothy comments, 'community-based tourism is a more sustainable form of development than conventional mass tourism because it allows host communities to break away from the hegemonic grasp of tour operators and the oligopoly of wealthy elites at the national level' (2002: 150).

It is widely recognised that the impacts of tourism are most apparent at the level of the destination community. Although tourism may provide communities with an opportunity to increase their income, the majority only retain a small proportion of the benefits which are unequally distributed. Therefore, if host communities are to benefit from tourism, then they must be given the opportunity to participate as well as gain financially from it. Community participation can act as 'a tool to readjust the balance of power and reassert local community views against those of the developers or the local authority, or to redefine professionalism, which may determine the conditions of successful participation and prevent manipulation of a community in the participation process' (Tosun, 2000: 615).

However, despite its rhetoric, the notion of community participation does not point towards all citizens being equally involved in the decision-making process on all issues. Determining the balance between the interests of the individual and the collective is crucial during the initial stages of tourism development. In order for tourism development goals to be successful, community-orientated efforts need to be geared towards the overall requirements of the community and not the individual. Whilst it is important for individuals to be able to act on their initiative and for individual expression to prosper, the interests of the community need to be kept are forefront as 'without community and its potential to enforce sanctions that protect the collectivity, individuals may simply engage in unfettered self-advancement at the expense of their fellow human beings as well as the social and ecological environment (George, Mair and Reid, 2009: 161).

Community Participation in Tourism Development in Cocachimba

Shortly after the official announcement of the 'discovery' of Gocta, the organisation CARITUS launched the Programme for the Appropriate Management of Tourist Resources with Communal Participation for Income Generation (PROMARTUC) in Cocachimba. Rather than focusing solely on the outcomes of development, community participation places greater emphasis on the process, focusing on individual learning and collective capacity building, in addition to economic growth.

At the centre of the process is the firm emphasis on self-sufficiency and local control over change (Joppe, 1996: 476). The main aims of the programme were centred on organising and involving the community in the development of tourism in the village, educating residents on how to use tourist resources and products as an income generator, improving tourist facilities and promoting of the waterfall at both national and international level. As part of the programme, PROMARTUC carried out a number of workshops which discussed tourism awareness, local identity, quality of service, environmental conservation, guiding techniques, improving the production of handicrafts, leadership and business management (tourism as a micro-enterprise) and strategies. In discussing the early stages of tourism development in Cocachimba, Señor Emilio recalls the help the village received from PROMARTUC:

Since Gocta was publicised our tourist friends started to come and we had to tend to them but we did not know how. It was thanks to PROMARTUC that we organised. There was a young man, a specialist in hotel management and tourism, who was with us for a year. He prepared us, he summoned us and invited all our fellow villagers, the young people and adults and he trained us. He told us what tourism is, how tourism is. How we can benefit from it and how we should be organised to tend to them, because it required a lot of responsibility looking after the people that come to our village. The young man was enthusiastic, he worked with the men, with the women in handicrafts, he contributed to the atmosphere and he taught us how to participate in agriculture and other activities. Thanks to him, we are organised and now we know how to get by. Now he comes from time to time and always we communicate by phone, he calls us to say hello and he asks how we are. Always we are in contact. From there I become involved as a guide and also, as I have two horses, they invited me to lead the horses for the tourists and to take our friends to Gocta.⁸¹

⁸¹ Interview 27 with a resident of Cocachimba, 3 June 2011 - *Los amigos turistas empezaron a venir a Gocta cuando ya se publicó y teníamos que atenderlos pero no sabíamos cómo. Gracias a PROMARTUC que nos organizó. Estaba un joven, especialista en hotelería y turismo que estuvo un año con nosotros. Nos capacitó, nos llamó y nos invitó a todos los paisanos y los jóvenes, adultos y nos capacitó. Nos dijo, así es el turismo, como es el turismo, para que sirva y como debemos estar organizados para atender, porque demanda mucha responsabilidad cuidando a la gente que viene a nuestro pueblo. Nos organizó y ahí me involucró para ser un guía. Ese joven era entusiasta, trabajó con los señores, con las señoras en la artesanía, contribuyó con el ambiente y nos enseñó a estar participando en agricultura, en todo. Gracias a él nos hemos organizado y es que ahora estamos ahí defendiéndonos. Ahora él viene de vez en cuando y siempre se comunica por celular, nos llama, nos saluda, nos pregunta cómo vamos. Siempre estamos en contacto. Así me involucré como guía y también como tengo 2 caballos, me invitaron para conducir con caballos a los turistas y también trabajo llevando a los amigos a Gocta.*

During the initial stages of tourism development, the main focus of the meetings was to discuss the future of Cocachimba as a potential tourist destination and to involve the community in the process. Local NGOs have however criticised the programme for creating unrealistic expectations amongst residents. Sold upon the idea that tourism will increase year upon year and provide a steady stream of visitors to the village throughout the year, residents get frustrated and annoyed when tourist numbers are down in the quieter months and there is not much business. Residents complained that during the quieter months they are often left sitting around waiting for tourists when they could be attending to their agricultural duties. Restaurant owners explained that during those months when tourism flow was low they had given up preparing food to sell to tourists as it was often wasted. Instead, if they required lunch, tourists needed to order their food before beginning their hike to the waterfall, allowing residents the time to purchase and prepare the meal. Guides in particular were frustrated having to remain close to tourism office just in case tourists want to hire a guide and not being able to go to the fields despite their services not being required. Expressing his frustration, Señor Ramón explained why he had decided to leave the association and stop working as a local guide.

Sometimes the tourists come and sometimes they do not and we lose our day in the fields. For this reason I also decided to withdraw. I did not have hardly any income. Now I am working on the construction of the hotel. There we are constructing a small house and I am working quietly and free. Recently, this year, I started working in this. We are helpers. There is a foreman from Chachapoyas; he is the bricklayer and we are the labourers. I am learning and already I can work alone.⁸²

Although PROMARTUC played an important role in organising local residents, there is no doubt that prior to their arrival the community was already united and organised to a certain extent through the evangelical church. Pointing this out, Señor Emilio was keen to stress the important role of the church in the community. As one of the congregation leaders, Señor Emilio explained how worshipers can attend a

⁸² Interview 19 with a resident of Cocachimba, 12 May 2011 – *A veces entraban turistas y a veces no, y nosotros perdíamos nuestro día en la chacra. Por esa razón yo también me retire. No había ingresos casi. Ahora yo estoy trabajando en la construcción del hotel. Ahí estamos construyendo una casita y ahí estoy trabajando tranquilo y libre. Recién este año estoy trabajando en eso. Nosotros somos ayudantes. Hay un maestro que nos indica. El maestro es de Chachapoyas. Él es el albañil y nosotros somos los peones. Estoy aprendiendo y ya puedo trabajo solito.*

number of organised group activities, such as a youth club, which are held on a Thursday and Friday:

When tourism began here we were already organised in groups, we always met. When the instructors came they made their way to the church and often we had our courses there, because there they found us, united and so they asked permission to give the course.⁸³

The majority of the villagers believed that being actively involved with the church had not only helped the community to organise itself but also to bring out the best in its residents, helping them to become honest and good people. In discussing the effect of the church on the village, Señora Rosa pointed out that all the residents were good trustworthy people and because all the villagers were so honest it was not necessary to lock away your things as nobody would ever take them. Whenever she travelled she simply stacked the chairs that she normally kept out in the open to one side and left.

Here the village is good; above all, here the entire village is religious. We are all from the Evangelical church and we are very good here and friendly. We are all one family; here nothing loses your things. For example, look at all that here, it all stays outside and sometimes I travel and nobody stays here. I only put the chairs here and I go. I come and I find everything the same. One does not lose anything here. The people are very honest, they do not rob but in other places how are you going to leave things like this?⁸⁴

With a large portion of residents already enrolled in groups and meeting a few times a week for events and services held at the church, it was easy for PROMARTUC to identify the community leaders and get the community together in one place to implement their programme. With the church identified as the main meeting place for residents, PROMARTUC were able to capitalise on the organisational structure already in place and build on it. The president of the tourism association explained

⁸³ Interview 27 with a resident of Cocachimba, 3 June 2011 – *Cuando inicia el turismo aquí nosotros ya éramos grupos organizados, siempre nos reuníamos. Los capacitadores cuando venían se dirigían a la iglesia y muchas veces hacíamos talleres de cursos, porque ahí nos encontraban, unidos, entonces pedían el permiso para dar el curso.*

⁸⁴ Interview 20 with a resident of Cocachimba, 15 May 2011 – *Aquí el pueblo es bueno; más que todo, aquí todo el pueblo es religioso. Todo somos de la religión adventista y somos muy buenos acá y amables. Todo somos una familia; acá nada se pierde de tus cositas. Por ejemplo mira todo esto acá, todo se queda hacia afuera y a veces viajo y no se queda nadie. Solamente pongo las sillas acá y me voy. Vengo y los mismos encuentro. No se pierde nada acá. La gente es muy honesta, no roba pero en otro lugar ¿qué vas a dejar las cosas así?*

how the church helped teach the community important skills which they were then able to use when they later became involved in the development of tourism:

Since children they taught us to work in a group, to manage ourselves, to participate in activities of young people and well I will say that it has helped me a lot. There we socialise and we learn to express ourselves. For example, myself, I do not have higher education but through the bible one learns to socialise, express ourselves and also control our behaviour. In the church they always give us responsibilities, I was the director of youth. There are different positions within the church and I liked to organise programmes and so it was not very difficult for me to accept this responsibility but it is for every person to see how to control themselves. The bible helps to control our rage. There are moments when I feel angry but I control it and I am only angry for ten minutes.⁸⁵

An important aspect of community participation in the tourism development process is education and awareness building. Community awareness is necessary to teach residents how they can support tourism and benefit from it. Participation by residents in the tourism development process need to be well informed and knowledgeable about the industry and its potential affects. By building community awareness of tourism in host communities, 'local people can be placed in a better position to determine their own needs and direct tourism development in their own communities' (Timothy, 2002: 158).

Working in cooperation with DICETUR Amazonas, the German development agency, GIZ, launched its pilot project for rural community tourism in 2010 in Cocachimba. As the representative from GIZ emphasised, 'if you want to execute tourism in rural area you cannot do it without the local people because they own the land and if you want to involve them, you have to do it with them'.⁸⁶ The main aim of the project was to develop the potential and ability of local people to make and implement decisions that would lead to more sustainable tourism. It also focused on

⁸⁵ Interview 29 with a resident of Cocachimba, 8 June 2011 – *Nosotros desde pequeños nos enseñan trabajar en grupo, a desenvolvernó, a participar en actividades de jóvenes y bueno yo diría que me ha ayudado bastante. Ahí nos socializamos y aprendemos a expresarnos, yo por ejemplo no tengo educación superior pero a través de la biblia uno aprende a socializarse, a expresarse y a controlar el temperamento también. En la iglesia siempre llevamos responsabilidades, yo era director de jóvenes. Hay diferentes cargos que se lleva en la iglesia y me gustaba organizar programas y así no se me ha hecho muy difícil aceptar esta responsabilidad. Pero es de cada persona ver como se auto controla. La biblia ayuda a controlar nuestra ira, hay momentos en que siento cólera pero lo controlo, yo tengo cólera solo 10 minutos.*

⁸⁶ Interview with a representative from GIZ, 15 August 2010. This interview was conducted in English.

building the capacities of residents in terms of the provision of services for tourists and increasing their knowledge of tourism and their confidence with dealing with tourists. Explaining the need to increase infrastructure and capacity building along with the promotion of the area, the representative from GIZ working on this project commented:

Everybody, starting from the local president to farmers is talking about tourism. But the problem is that the people think and act like the only thing about tourism is promotion and it's definitely not. I think that increasing infrastructure and capacity building always have to go hand-in-hand with promotion; you can't do a lot of promotion without offering better service, because the tourists that come once won't come again if the service and infrastructure are very bad. On the other hand, if you do a lot of capacity building with the communities and they don't see the benefits, saying that you don't have enough promotion, they will get tired of that and go back to their usual activities.⁸⁷

Over a period of twelve weeks workshops were held to discuss both the practical and theoretical side rural of community tourism. Topics included guiding, restaurants, hotels, local awareness of the environment and the opportunities open to the community to participate in tourism. However, the agenda was not planned in collaboration of the community and important aspects of capacity building were not covered. These were, business skills, working and negotiating with commercial operators, developing local supply chains and monitoring the impact of tourism. Attendance at these workshops was low despite the day and time being agreed with the president of the Tourism Association to suit the village and a notice up in the community centre to notify residents.⁸⁸ On average around a dozen people would attend and that was only after the representative from GIZ had gone from house to house to remind villagers that there was a workshop that morning. Following the completion of this project, there were no further plans by the regional and local government to implement any additional capacity building programmes. Throughout the 12 weeks it was evident that both the community and the representative were frustrated with the progress of the project. It was noted through informal

⁸⁷ Interview with a representative from GIZ, 15 August 2010. This interview was conducted in English.

⁸⁸ Workshops were held on a Sunday morning at 11am. For the majority of the residents Sunday is a day of rest, although some go to the early morning market held in the neighbouring town of Pedro Ruíz.

conversations with residents that the community was discouraged with the lack of consistency and commitment from DICETUR Amazonas who were supposed to be jointly coordinating and running the project. Frequently representatives from DICETUR Amazonas failed to turn up and it was left to the representative from GIZ to run and coordinate the workshop.⁸⁹ Although this concerned residents, it was not a factor in their decision not to attend the workshops. Instead when asked why they had not attended, residents stated that they (i) believed that the workshops were only for a select few, or that, (ii) they were too busy with their agricultural activities to attend. Poor time keeping and failure to attend workshops and meetings was also a point of contention for the representative of GIZ who would put a lot of effort into preparing and organising the workshops. Reflecting on the progress of the workshops, the representative of GIZ commented:

The first workshop went quite well but from that point onwards the number of participants went straight down so we tried to contact the stakeholders as it is always very important in these types of projects that you choose people living in the communities who have some influence and some enthusiasm for working together with the people. Despite this numbers continued to fall. However, I have to mention that we made mistakes as an organisation such as skipping an appointment or coming late to another meeting. You have to be very delicate, you have to communicate a lot and you have to ask them to communicate. For example if you have ten workshops and they go fine and then one day you come late or you do not come to the workshop you will probably lose all the good work you had done in the period before. I think the main problem is that people go to the places with very concrete ideas of the project. However, they should go there first, to know the people and together try to see what should be the purpose of whatever projects. On the one hand you have to give the community space but sometimes I think you have to push them a bit to tell you their needs, what they want and what they expect from you. It is hard to get people who are not used to foreigners or to people from the other side of country coming to hold workshops to voice their opinion. They always except everything and say thanks for coming here, we need your help and it is so great. The project needs to be linked to the needs of the population and not what we think their needs are.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ All workshops were attended by the researcher who observed that for the majority of workshops DICETUR Amazonas were absent.

⁹⁰ Interview with a representative from GIZ, 15 August 2010. This interview was conducted in English.

Depending on the topic, the representative from GIZ would sometimes organise for an expert from that field, often from a local NGO, to attend the workshop and talk to the residents. While some of the invited guest speakers were able to relate well to the residents, others found it more difficult. In particular there was one representative from a local NGO who found it hard to take into consideration the views, opinions and concerns stressed by members of the community. During a workshop, it was suggested by the NGO worker that restaurateurs should construct adequate W.C facilities for the tourists to use at their restaurants. It was quickly pointed out by residents to the NGO worker that they were not making enough money to be able to afford to carry out the work. Instead of suggesting that the work be carried out bit by bit over a period of time, the NGO worker began to stress how they had a degree in tourism and they knew what was best for tourism development in the village. Due to the insistence of the NGO worker that the current facilities (i.e. residents own personal W.C) were not to high enough standard for tourists to use, many villagers left embarrassed and discouraged from attending further workshops.

A similar attitude was also adopted by the director (now ex-director) of DICETUR, who confiscated the key to the recently constructed tourism office, insisting that there needed to be opening ceremony and that DICETUR were the only ones capable of organising the event. Two months after construction was completed, no opening ceremony had happened and residents remained locked out of the tourism office. Despite the president of Tourism Association visiting the offices of DICETUR a number of times to request the key, it took the intervention of DICETUR for the key to be returned to the community and for them finally to be able to use the facility they had constructed themselves. Given that the area of community participation in tourism is relatively new, it is not unsurprising that there still remains elitism as well as inadequate local expertise and a general understanding of how to incorporate local involvement into the tourism development process. Many of the agencies working in Cocachimba make decisions on what they perceive the community needs to be and how they believe it should be involved in the tourism development process. Unfortunately, there is little consultation with the community regarding their perceived needs, objectives and issues.

Another aspect of the project involved creating a small bilingual guide book about the waterfall, including the history of the community, flora and fauna in the area and local traditions. Given that the majority of local residents do not have the

infrastructure or money to establish hostels or restaurants, one of the main means of earning an income through tourism is by becoming a local guide. These guides however do not speak English and most of the international tourists do not speak Spanish, therefore, the idea of the guide was to provide tourists with basic knowledge of the area and Gocta whilst allowing the community to earn extra money. The copyrights of the guide book were handed over to the community so they could continue to print and sell the guide to tourists in the future. Señor Ramón pointed out how local guides are losing business to tour agencies from Chachapoyas who insist on using their own English speaking guides. He also mentioned that there are many tourists who come and do not want to hire a guide. As it is not compulsory to be accompanied by a local guide on the trail, the guides are often left hanging around waiting for a group. He noted, ‘sometimes they come from Chachapoyas and they do not want to take a guide and they say to us if you can speak English we will take you with us, but if you don’t then why should we take you. But we are from here and we know the path, we know how the village is organised, how is weather. Some only want only to look at the waterfall and they do not want us to tell them anything’.⁹¹ In 2011, a local NGO organised English classes for the community held three nights a week in the community centre in the village. However, residents finding it difficult and tired from work in the fields soon lost interest. As the president of the Tourism Association explained:

Some agencies come with foreign tourists and they bring their guide who speaks languages but this is also because of a lack of interest on our behalf because if we really wanted to we should make more effort and learn because it is not something from another world. I have realised that we should work with the children, put a teacher in the school. When we had the technical assistants and they taught us we were thinking of another places, of our responsibilities and it was at night and I was tired.⁹²

⁹¹ Interview 19 with a resident of Cocachimba, 12 May 2011 – *A veces viene de Chachapoyas y no quieren llevar el guía y nos dicen si sabes inglés los llevamos y si no para que los vamos a llevar. Nosotros como somos de acá sabemos el camino, sabemos cómo se ha organizado el pueblo, en que tiempo. Otros solo quieren mirar la catarata y no quieren que se les cuente nada.*

⁹² Interview 29 with a resident of Cocachimba, 8 June 2011 – *Algunas agencias que vienen con turistas extranjeros ya vienen con su guía que habla idiomas, pero eso también es por falta de interés de nosotros, porque si queremos ganar mas también nos debemos de esforzarnos más y aprender porque no es cosa de otro mundo. Yo me he dado cuenta que se debería trabajar con los niños, en poner un profesor en la escuela, porque cuando teníamos los 3 asistentes técnicos, y nos enseñaban, estábamos pensando en ir a otro lado, en nuestras responsabilidades, y el horario era en las noches y era cansado.*

The lack of local travel agencies and transport in Cocachimba has created a dependency on outside firms, in particular, those from the regions capital Chachapoyas, to bring tourists to the village. Conflicts between residents and tour operators from Chachapoyas are becoming an increasing problem in Cocachimba. As Zorn and Farthing note, 'control of transportation is not only key to direct and indirect economic benefits but also the management of tourists (numbers of tourists, length of stay, and who accompanies tourists)' (2007: 680). Residents felt that tourists were spending a minimum time and money in the community and this was due to outside tour operators who would leave immediately after the group had finished the trail to the waterfall. Although some operators arranged for the tourists to have lunch in the village others provided them with packed lunch. Residents felt that if the community had some kind of travel agency or transport to and from Chachapoyas, the community would benefit more from tourism and tourists would be more likely to spend the night there. Despite expressing the desire to establish a travel agency or run a transport link to Chachapoyas, no action has been taken by the community to try and implement these ideas or introduce measures to protect the community from outside travel agencies. Tour operators have made no effort to develop equitable partnerships with the community and none of the S/. 40 charged for a day trip to Cocachimba reaches the community. Many of the tour operators work in conjunction with hotels in Chachapoyas and therefore have little incentive to encourage people to spend the night in Cocachimba. Tour operators, however, have complained that the level of service offered by the community is inconsistent and therefore, they need to provide some of the services themselves to keep their clientele happy. Commenting on the relationship between the community and travel agencies, the representative from iPeru explained:

The travel agencies want the community to make a little effort to improve its services so that they do not drop. They can offer a good service and they do not necessarily have to have a lot of money. Tourists when they travel know about the place. They know if the attraction is located in a rural zone and they know what they have. But it is always good to exceed the expectations of the clients. There are times when the travel agencies treat the community badly. There is still no awareness on the part of the businesses. The majority of them that work in a bad way are informal or sometimes the price that they charge the tourist is a minimum and this does not cover enough to pay the driver well or to pay the person

that offers the service in the community. This is irresponsible of the company.⁹³

One of the main outcomes of the communal meetings organised by PROMARTUC was the foundation of the Community Tourism Association of Cocachimba in December 2007. Since its formation the tourism association has played a key role in uniting the community, serving as a platform to share ideas and information regarding the economic, social and environmental betterment of the village. The principal functions of the Association are to hold regular meetings with residents, to plan and coordinate any tasks which need to be undertaken, carryout administration responsibilities and resolve disputes or problems arising between/with its members, as well as with the local municipality to coordinate infrastructural projects and resolve any administrative issues. Many interviewees felt that the current municipal government was not doing enough to support tourism development and the community in general. Residents complained that they never see the mayor and he rarely holds meetings with the community. Commenting on the current mayor, Señora Rosa summed of the thoughts of many of the villagers; ‘No, he does not come and I almost never see him, he is in San Pablo. The mayor that we had before visited us punctually here, he held his meetings but this mayor does nothing, he has forgotten Cocachimba’.⁹⁴

The S/.5 entry fee charged to visitors goes directly to the Association. It is allocated to maintain and buy furniture for the tourism office, pay labourers to clear any landslides along the path to Gocta and ditches on the road from Cocahuayco and Cocachimba and for infrastructure projects. Prior to November 2010, the president of the Association explained, admission fees were administered by the municipality of Valera:

⁹³ Interview with a representative from iPeru, 2 September 2011 – *Las agencias de viaje buscan que la comunidad se esfuerce un poquito en mejorar sus servicios para que no bajen. Pueden ofrecer un buen servicio y no necesariamente tienen que tener mucho dinero. Los turistas cuando viajan se informan del lugar. Saben si el atractivo está ubicado en una zona rural y saben a qué ellos se tienen. Pero siempre es bueno superar las expectativas de los clientes. Hay veces cuando las agencias tratan la comunidad mal. Todavía no hay conciencia por parte de los empresarios. La mayoría de ellas que trabajan de mala manera son informales o a veces el precio que cobran a un turista es mínimo y eso no cubre para poder pagar bien el chofer o pagar a alguien que se brinda el servicio en la comunidad. Eso es irresponsabilidad del empresario.*

⁹⁴ Interview 20 with a resident of Cocachimba, 15 May 2011 - *No, no viene y casi no lo veo, está en San Pablo. El primer alcalde que ha sido él nos visitaba puntual acá, hacía sus reuniones, pero este alcalde nada, se ha olvidado de Cocachimba.*

Before, all the admission fees went to the local municipality and we had to ask for money. If they wanted to, they would give it to us and if not they would not. We had to go there three times a month for the answer but now all the admission fees stay with the Association. This changed with the new mayor and now we do everything here. We attend special meetings to discuss the business that is of interest and it is a lot quicker, although when the matter is of greater importance or the projects bigger we go to the local municipality.⁹⁵

Open to every resident of Cocachimba, within the Association there are two sub divisions; the guide association and the restaurant association. However, currently the latter is not functioning due to a disagreement among the restaurateurs. Each member of the guide association pays an inscription fee of S/.40, which guarantees them at least one turn a week. When their services are acquired, S/.2 of their total fee is paid to the Association.⁹⁶ The president of the Association is elected by its members every four years and is an unpaid post. Explaining his election process, the president explained how two candidates were nominated by members, who then went on to vote for their preferred choice to represent the community from 2008 – 2012:

The election is done by every member voting. There are two candidates. In this case it was a man and me. Well the majority supported me to be president and at the beginning I did not accept, because it is a big responsibility and sometimes not all the population are satisfied. To lead the population as an authority is a challenge and always we have to see what is good, what is bad and understand the opinion of everyone. You have to appreciate all the suggestions of all the members. Not all give a good opinion and it is a little complicated, but it is nice to work in a group. At first, I was scared to take on the role, to take on the responsibility; more because it was for the first time that they spoke about tourism and the theme was almost unknown to us.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Interview 29 with a resident of Cocachimba, 8 June 2011 - *Antes todos los ingresos se iban a la Municipalidad Distrital y teníamos que solicitar el dinero y si querían nos daban y si no ya no nos daban, tenían que pasar a veces tres meses para tener una respuesta, pero ahora todos los ingresos se quedan para la asociación, eso ha cambiado con el nuevo alcalde, ahora ya vemos todo aquí y nos reunimos en reuniones extraordinarias para ver el tema que nos interesa y es mucho más rápido, ya cuando son temas mayores o proyectos más grandes vamos a la municipalidad.*

⁹⁶ Refer to Chapter 2 for the exchange rate.

⁹⁷ Interview 29 with a resident of Cocachimba, 8 June 2011 – *La elección se hace por votación de cada socio. Hay dos candidatos, en este caso era un señor y yo y bueno la mayoría me apoyaron para ser el presidente y al principio no acepte porque es una gran responsabilidad y a veces no toda la población se le contenta. Llevar a la población como una autoridad es un reto siempre tienes que ver qué es lo bueno y que es lo malo y comprender la opinión de todos. Tienes que ser asequible a todas las sugerencias de todos los socios y no todos opinan bien y es un poquito complicado pero si es bonito trabajar en grupo. Al principio como que tenía miedo de asumir el cargo, de asumir la responsabilidad, más porque por primera vez se hablaba de turismo y casi desconocíamos el tema.*

Since the transfer of the administration of the admission fees from the municipality to the community, residents have been in disagreement as to how the money should be used. Some residents believe it should be used for the benefit of the whole community and for communal activities and projects whilst others argue it should be reinvested to further develop tourism in Cocachimba. Trying to strike a balance between the two, the Tourism Association is trying to invest in projects that will further develop or strengthen tourism in the area, such as replace the wooden bridge with either a concrete or metal structure and in activities and projects that the community can directly benefit from. Recently, the community constructed a nursery and tried to organise an event for the village to celebrate mother's day. However, those against spending the money in this manner complained to the Tourism Association the money was being wasted and used for the wrong purpose. As a result, the event was cancelled and the community did nothing to celebrate. Many villagers also complained that the president is using his position to help his relatives and this has resulted in his family receiving the most benefits from tourism. These claims however remain unsubstantiated. Señor Alfonso, who is a local guide and a member of the Association, explained how disillusioned he felt with the current situation, a point of view shared by a number of disgruntled residents:

Well the Association is good. What is not working well here is our president; he is a supporter of his relatives. There is no order; generally his relatives do not comply with what they should. On the question of money, they want to do what they think is best and when we do not want this he gets annoyed. Really, the president of tourism should know how to invest the money in something good for tourism. Like improving paths, building viewpoints. Well we are already thinking to do a project like this, but mainly the paths, the bridges, maintain the bridge. As it is not a cement bridge, only for a while will the wood last. Well I tell you, one day we wanted to do something for mother's day and that the tourism association organises the gathering. I did not agree. After that he was annoyed and we did not do anything and did not celebrate it. We want to change the president of the Association so that he does not use the money from the tourism fund in Cocachimba badly and so that he does not do the things he wants. We want this money to be looked after well and to make good investment in tourism itself. We want

to change for another authority more responsible and older so that he knows how to invest the money.⁹⁸

Despite the apparent discontent with the allocation of funds, when meetings are held to discuss the matter, a sizeable portion of residents fail to turn up. Interestingly, some residents also felt that only those already involved in tourism were invited to participate in meetings and planning of events whilst others felt that many of those who were not involved were either too busy working in agriculture, attending church meetings which sometimes clashed with Association meetings or were simply disinterested.

Considering the Association is only four years old, it appears to be working relatively well. There are regular meetings between the Association and community, NGOs and the regional government. There is not, however, a strategic plan for tourism development or a clear set of goals for the future. This lack of coherence and transparency on future plans has led to some disagreement and discontent in the village on how best to spend the revenues generated from tourism, which has led to some ill-feeling towards the president. Discussing the president of the Tourism Association, the representative of MINCETUR Amazonas commented, 'the president of the association is noble but he does not have the character to demand that they accomplish the things as they should be. He knows how it should be. He has left the region many times already and has seen other situations. I believe that he has a clear idea of what he wants to achieve but he is not carry it out.'⁹⁹ However, she also adds

⁹⁸ Interview 16 with a resident of Cocachimba, 4 May 2011 - *Bueno la asociación está bien, si no que aquí lo que está funcionando mal es nuestro presidente, es apadrinador de sus familiar. No hay orden, generalmente sus familiares no cumplen con lo que debe ser. En cuestión del dinero quieren hacer lo que mejor les parece y cuando no queremos eso, él se incomoda. Verdaderamente el presidente de turismo debe saber invertir el dinero en algo en bien del turismo, en mejorar los caminos, hacer los miradores, bueno ya estamos pensando en hacer un proyecto así, pero principalmente los caminos, los puentes, mantenimiento de puente, que no es como un puente de cemento, tiene su tiempo en que dura la madera. Bueno te cuento: un día queriendo hacer algo por el día de la madre que para hacer una reunión en la asociación de turismo, yo no estaba de acuerdo, después de ahí se ha molestado y hemos quedado en nada y no lo hemos celebrado, es que como pues, primero la plata en vez de ahorrarlo, gastar en eso, entonces nos hemos incomodado, nos hemos molestado, entonces no lo hemos hecho. Queremos que se cambie el presidente de turismo que no haga mal uso del dinero del fundo que tiene del turismo de Cocachimba y que no haga las cosas que él quiere. Nosotros queremos que ese dinero se conserve bien y que se haga una buena inversión para el mismo turismo. Queremos que se cambie por otra autoridad más responsable y más mayor para que sepa en que invertir el dinero.*

⁹⁹ Interview with the representative from MINCENTUR Amazonas, 10 August 2011 – *El presidente de la asociación es noble pero no tiene carácter de exigir que se cumplan las cosas como deben ser. Él sabe que así debe ser. Él ya ha salido de la región muchas veces y ha conocido otras realidades. Yo creo que él tiene la idea clara de lo que se quiere lograr pero no lo está aplicando.*

that although the president may be lacking in some areas it is important to remember that the Tourism Association has only recently been established and prior to the arrival of tourism in Cocachimba residents had very little insight into the tourism sector and lacked experience as both tourists and hosts.

The Tourism Association has given little thought to its future and not considered fully the impact new investors will have on the village. With no plans to incorporate these investors into the Association it is unsure if it will survive as the shareholder base increases and broadens. Unless measures are implemented now, such as compulsory membership for all new investors, the association will have little control over tourism development and in all likelihood its benefits will bypass the community.

Resident Involvement in the Benefits of Tourism in Cocachimba

During the involvement stage of a destinations 'life cycle', the community plays a large role in tourism employment. As there are a few stakeholders and 'outsiders' involved linkages tend to be localised. However, even at this stage control is not necessarily in the hands of the community and the benefits of tourism are not evenly distributed. In the case of Cocachimba, tour agencies have played an important role in the development of tourism from the beginning, controlling the flow of tourists, while some residents were in a better position to take advantage of tourism than others. During this phase, a duality starts to exist in the lives of residents as their daily routine begins to include tourism activities as well as their usual agricultural activities. Among households in Cocachimba, tourism has become an important source of income, particularly because there are very few other cash-generating activities in the area. Prior to 2006, households had few opportunities to generate income outside of agriculture. In 2010, it was estimated by the Tourism Association of Cocachimba that around 90 per cent of villagers benefited in some form or another from tourism, either directly through their own work as guides, restaurateurs, etc. or indirectly through the involvement of family members. However, those from the wider community see few benefits and are generally not involved in tourism, although, the neighbouring village of La Coca sometimes provides extra horses when needed. Under the banner of sustainable tourism development, residents of Cocachimba have been encouraged by both NGOs and the regional government of Amazonas to actively participate in tourism; the idea being that tourism growth

should be driven by the people who live in Cocachimba rather than developed by ‘outsiders’.

During these early stages of the transition to tourism, some families considered turning their homes into hostels offering accommodation or into restaurants. However, despite the potential for additional income for families that traditionally have depended on agriculture, not all have been able to optimise this opportunity, largely due to a lack of financial means. This has resulted in the majority of residents involved in tourism working as local guides. At the time fieldwork was undertaken, there were 24 guides in total; although the majority were men there were a few female guides.¹⁰⁰ One of those few female guides, Señora Adriana explained how she had become involved in tourism through the PROMARTUC project:

When the PROMARTUC project came they began to have their male guides. The person in charge of the training saw that it was necessary to have women as guides. He came to visit me at my house to suggest that I become a guide. I felt afraid to go to guide the foreigners and for my age also. I thought that I would not be able to walk and I was going to be a failure. But the trainer he told me that I would be able to as I knew the forest and I had attended the training and the talks. I started and I become involved as a guide. I like it a lot. At the start I was a little discouraged as some things went bad but now I am much calmer. I work as a guide once a week and my turn is on Fridays.¹⁰¹

Since his adventure to Gocta with Ziemendorff, Señor José has become one of the lead guides; He spends half of his week in the fields and the other half accompanying tourists to the waterfall. Señor José very much enjoys the interaction with the tourists, while the extra income and tips he makes allows him to live more

¹⁰⁰ During the duration of the field work there did not appear to be any gender issues when it came to participating in tourism activities. Although there were few women working as guides this was because the majority felt that the five hour hike to the waterfall and back was too physically demanding for them. Most preferred to sell food or artisan goods to the tourists. During meetings and workshops women were also present, although most felt embarrassed to contribute, preferring to leave it up to the men or to express their views at the end of the meeting on a one-to-one basis.

¹⁰¹ Interview 13 with a resident of Cocachimba, 1 April 2011 – *Cuando vino el proyecto PROMARTUC empezaron a tener sus guías varones. El encargado de las capacitaciones vio que era necesario tener a las damas como guías y él fue a visitarme a mi casa para proponerme el ser guía. Yo sentía miedo de irme a guiar a los extranjeros y por mi edad también. Yo pensaba que no iba a poder caminar y que iba a ser una fracasa. Pero el capacitador me dijo que si voy a poder como conocía el bosque y que asistiera a las capacitaciones y las charlas. Ahí empecé y me involucré como guía. Me gusta bastante. Al inicio tenía un poco de desánimo porque algunas cosas me salían mal pero ahora estoy más tranquila. Trabajo como guía un día a la semana y me toca los viernes.*

comfortably. Recently he accompanied two other members of the tourism Association on a trip to Arequipa to attend a tourism fair organised by MINCETUR. He recounts the trip as follows:

This year we went to Arequipa, to Colca. In Achoma there was the tourism event, we were there for eight days. Through this I got to know the south. It is very pretty, just the cold, it is very cold. There we had a meeting; the vice-minister of tourism was there. Many people attended. We came away more aware of tourism, about how we should deal with the people and looking forward to teach the village more, so that in one form or another provide better services to tourists. It was very interesting. I am very grateful. Now I am a widower, my wife died and I am alone. It has been three months since she died, she had an illness. I have my children who come to me. When I tell my visitors that I am alone, they say Señor José, you are not alone we are here. Yes well, when I take the people there it is a pleasure, a joy. We have a laugh and the people are very grateful.¹⁰²

During these early stages of tourism development in Cocachimba, residents were able to capitalise on the increasing number of visitors visiting the waterfall each year. During the initial stages, restaurants operated on a rota system, with a different family selling food every day. Discussing this theme, the president of the tourism Association commented:

When tourism began, one family started to sell food. Then another appeared and another family, so at the beginning there was confusion. The same happened with the renting of horses, because at the start there were three or four horses and people begun to buy horses. Now there are nineteen, so we gave them a solution and established a rota. The issue of quality of service is another matter, where the visitor decides where to go. At the start, we were working also on a rota for restaurants, but we realised that you cannot enforce this because the visitors get annoyed. They ask why they are forced to go there if there are other places where the service is better, the food nicer, there is more space and its is

¹⁰² Interview 14 with a resident of Cocachimba, 1 April 2011 – *Este año nos hemos ido a Arequipa, al Colca. En Achoma ha sido la reunión del turismo, ahí hemos estado ocho días. De esa manera he conocido la parte del sur, es muy bonito, único el frío, hace mucho frío. Ahí hemos tenido la reunión, ahí estaba la subministra del turismo, había mucha gente, del cual hemos venido más concienciados del turismo, como debemos atender a la gente y con las ganas de instruir más al pueblo para que en una u otra forma prestemos servicios a los turistas, muy interesante. Yo estoy bien agradecido. Ahora pues yo me quede viudo, mi esposa se murió, me quede solo. Ya hace tres meses que se ha muerto, tuvo una enfermedad. Tengo mis hijos quienes me ven. Cuando les cuento a mis visitantes ya me quede solo, me dicen señor José, no estás solo aquí estamos nosotros, si pues, cuando ya llevo a la gente por allá es un gozo, una alegría, nos vamos una risa y la gente se va bien agradecida.*

friendlier - because there are different types of tourists that come and they look for their comforts.¹⁰³

With little or no competition during the first three years, those who invested in a small restaurant or hostel at this juncture saw a return in their investment. Señora Yuliana, originally from the province of Rodríguez de Mendoza, is a young mother of three children who runs a small restaurant with her mother-in-law. In 1999 she met her husband in Cocachimba, after moving there with an aunt and uncle who were working on a drainage project with the Cooperation Fund for Social Development (FONCODES). They married soon after.¹⁰⁴ After two years, the couple decided to move to Rodríguez de Mendoza in search of work. As Señora Yuliana explains, 'we decided to move because before it was very boring, there was no light, no road, no means of communication; it was a poor area and we had to earn money from sugar cane, from *chancaca*. When I got married my husband had a plot of sugar cane and we began to farm it. But it did not provide and we thought to travel and work in another place'.¹⁰⁵ Returning a few years later when tourism was beginning in Cocachimba, the couple in 2007 decided to start selling food to tourists and opened a small restaurant in their home. Located at the entrance of the path leading to Gocta, Señora Yuliana found that the restaurant was too small to accommodate the growing number of tourists and decided to invest and build a new home. Securing a bank loan, they were able to build the first story of their house, with a larger space to use as a restaurant. With business good and having repaid the first loan, Señora Yuliana and her husband were able to access and build the second story of their home, renting out rooms for the night to tourists. Despite having done well during the early stages of tourism development, the pair have no plans to invest further in the sector.

¹⁰³ Interview 29 with a resident of Cocachimba, 8 June 2011 – *Cuando empezó el turismo, una familia empezó a vender comida y luego apareció otra familia y luego otra familia más, entonces ahí al principio fue una turbación. Pasó lo mismo con el alquiler de caballos porque al inicio había tres o cuatro caballos y la gente empezó a comprar caballos y ahora son diecinueve. Entonces dábamos solución, estableciendo un turno. Pero también está el tema de la calidad de servicio y donde el visitante decide a ir. Al inicio estábamos trabajando también el tema de la comida por turno de ahí nos hemos dado cuenta que no a todos se les puede obligar porque el visitante se incomoda. Se pregunta porque lo obligan en ir ahí si hay otros lugares en donde la atención es mejor, la comida es más rica, hay más espacio, más amabilidad, porque hay diferentes tipos de turistas que vienen y ellos buscan sus comodidades.*

¹⁰⁴ FONCODES – Fondo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo Social

¹⁰⁵ Interview 24 with a resident of Cocachimba, 25 May 2011 – *Decidimos salir porque antes era muy aburrido, no había luz, no había carretera, no había medios de comunicación; era una zona pobre, teníamos que buscar el dinero de la caña, de la chancaca. Cuando me case, mi esposo tenía una chacra de caña y comenzamos a moler y se acabó y ahí pensamos en viajar y trabajar en otro lado.*

Acknowledging the increasing number of restaurants and competition, Señora Yuilana commented:

We are not thinking to invest in tourism; I think I will stay with this small restaurant, no more, because there is more competition. Before, I was alone, there was only little competition. But now it is different, there is very strong competition that is doing very well, so if I make an investment it would be a long-term return. So now we are thinking to invest again in plots of farm land. We have bought land in Rodríguez de Mendoza. It is a little far, but we are thinking to plant three hectares of coffee, one hectare of pineapple, avocado and sapodilla that adapt to a warm climate.¹⁰⁶

As destination areas move from the exploration stage towards the development stage of the tourism life cycle, local people start to experience a loss of control over the process. This is largely to do with the failure of the community to implement certain measures during the exploration and involvement stages to maintain directorship before it becomes more popular and ultimately more attractive for investment by large capital owners. In the case of Cocachimba, their mistake has been not formulating an agreement among residents over the sale of land. The sale of land to the highest bidder has opened the village up to competition from outside sources.

Recently a piece of land was sold to Señora Cristina and her husband in the centre of the village very close to the tourism office. Entrepreneurs, the couple, who live in a neighbouring village, previously had a business in Luya where they sold *chancaca* and *aguardiente* bought from local farmers from the district of San Pablo de Valera. They also offered board and lodgings for two years to the workmen constructing the road to Chachapoyas which allowed them to save enough money to buy land to build their restaurant. Opened in 2011, the large restaurant sits up to 40 people and offers a good choice of food for both breakfast and lunch. Unlike other residents, Señora Cristina does not just provide one set menu for lunch, which appears to be the reason why she is so popular. She also has a range of drinks and snacks and is one of the few places that sell alcohol. Freshly painted and decorated

¹⁰⁶ Interview 24 with a resident of Cocachimba, 25 May 2011 – *Nosotros ya no pensamos invertir en negocio para turismo; me pienso quedar con este restaurante pequeño, no más, porque hay más competencia. Antes yo era solita, solo había una pequeña competencia, pero ahora es diferente, hay muy buena competencia que ha empezado muy bien entonces si hago una inversión sería devuelta a largo plazo. Entonces ahora queremos invertir en chacras de nuevo. Hemos comprado un terreno en Rodríguez de Mendoza, está un poco lejos pero hay pensamos sembrar tres hectáreas de café y una hectáreas de piña, palta, zapote que se adapta al clima cálido.*

with the artisan goods she has made to sell to the tourists, with its large sign outside the restaurant stands out from the others in the village. Continuously thinking about ways to improve her business, Señora Cristina and her husband are planning to build a second story which will give them the space to open a hostel:

When there are no people I am doing other things, my handicrafts. Sometimes I close and go to my small plot of farmland or sometimes I have a girl that stays when I go to collect my products, my husband works there and there I have my coffee. Sometimes people ask us for coffee and I give them natural coffee that we sowed ourselves. That is how we work. We are not thinking in only one thing. If you want to progress you have to see the way to work. For example, today I am cooking and nobody comes. I am not going to stay sat down, I am going to knit my scarves and my rugs. When we were young we learnt handicrafts in school. The rugs for benches, for horses and saddles sell quite well. I am going to sew the tablecloths for my table, with twisted thread it sews easier.¹⁰⁷

As the numbers of tourists have increased, more restaurants have opened up in Cocachimba, which led to the collapse of the rotation system initially implemented by the tourism association. The success of Señora Cristina's restaurant has caused some friction within the village, as other restaurateurs feel the financial impact of this new competition. With it being in a prime location and, unlike the other restaurants, clearly sign posted, it is attracting a large amount of tourists. Her decision not to become a member of the tourism Association has angered some locals, who argue she is taking all the trade and not sharing it equally among other families who operate small restaurants. However, Señora Cristina for now believes there is little benefit in joining the Association as it would not help increase the number of customers. She points out that the girls in the tourist office always send people to other restaurants:

The girls that work there do not give a good explanation to the people who come. When drivers come for the first time

¹⁰⁷ Interview 5 with a resident of Cocachimba, 25 February 2011 – *Cuando no hay gente yo ya estoy haciendo otra cosa, mi artesanía. A veces cierro y me voy a mi chacra o a veces tengo una chica que se queda y yo me voy a recoger mis productos, mi esposo trabaja ahí y ahí tengo mi café. A veces la gente nos pide café y se les da café natural de acá mismo que sembramos nosotros mismos y así trabajamos. Nosotros no estamos pensando en una sola cosa, si tu quieres salir adelante tienes que ver la manera de trabajar. Por ejemplo hoy día cocino y no viene nadie. No voy a quedar sentadito, yo me voy a tejer mis chalinas y mis alfombras. Nosotros cuando hemos sido más pequeños hemos aprendido en la escuela la artesanía. Bastante se vendía las alfombras para bancos, para caballos y monturas. Voy a tejer los manteles para mi mesa, con hilos torcidos se teje más fácil.*

they say 'when we asked where you can go to eat they all told us another place'. Recently we have put up our sign. When we did not have a sign they did not come, only those who knew us. Now there are a few more.¹⁰⁸

One disgruntled resident, Señora Marta was one of the first people to begin selling food to tourists, operating out of her home. Located on the corner of the square near the entrance road into Cocachimba, Señora Marta opened her restaurant in 2009. However, unlike Señora Christina, Señora Marta offered very little choice to the tourist, selling only one set menu. Despite previously having some success, unable to compete with and adapt to the increasing competition Señora Marta decided to close her restaurant in the spring of 2011. Placing the blame firmly on the opening of the new restaurant in the square for the demise of her business, she explained:

Last year we had benefits, but I think it all has been spoilt when they sold the land. I had lots of drivers who came to eat at the house and now all of them go to that restaurant because there they give them free food and serve them the best. During Easter we had lots of visitors and they all went to this restaurant. She did not say that they had to register with the tourist council. The tourists went directly from there to the waterfall and they did not enter to register. This is bad. She has to inform them that they have to register and pay their entrance fee in order to go to the waterfall. They have taught us in the training that we should serve between 25 and 30 people, but she serves more. So they taught us how many we can serve and if more arrive, to inform them that we cannot and indicate where the other restaurants are. But she doesn't, she grabs them all. Who can resolve this? When there are obligations they do not go. They do not go to collect the rubbish, they benefit daily; it is not that we feel envy, but it should not be like this. She should be a good person and if she knows there are other restaurants, send some customers there, but she doesn't. Therefore, I am uncomfortable with this. It should not be like this that a person is going to benefit daily and not at least give a contribution to the Association. She is not trained as a restaurateur. They have trained us but, however, she holds on to them all. The president does not have character; he cannot complain as he sold the land to the lady and so in the meetings he cannot complain. I think that there should be a change of president, because the president

¹⁰⁸ Interview 5 with a resident of Cocachimba, 25 February 2011 – *Las chicas que trabajan ahí no les dan buena explicación a la gente que viene. Cuando vienen choferes por primera vez dicen 'nosotros cuando preguntamos donde se puede ir a comer todos nos dicen a otro sitio'. Nosotros recién hemos puesto nuestro letrero, cuando no teníamos letrero no casi venían solo los que nos conocían, ahora hay un poco más.*

has to have character; he has to wear the trousers. I gave my daily contributions, but now what can I give if I do not have the money. Besides, those who benefit do not give even one penny. Before the buses came with the tourists, they brought them here to register and then the girls that worked there indicated to them where they could find lunch. But now the drivers they take them directly to this restaurant. The girls from here cannot say anything, because the buses go directly. For example, during Easter on the Friday, they filled the buses and I told them more than once that we have been trained to serve the tourists well, no more than 20 to 25 people agreed to our services. The village has been ruined with people who have come from another place. The president of the Association has to see this but it was him who sold the land. How is he going to complain about it? Before we collected money from those who cooked, but now there is nothing and the lady from the restaurant on the square, that has all the people, has said she is not going to give not even one penny. But not all want to complain here. When one says something the others stay quiet. Sometimes it makes you angry to be here, it is a small village but there is so much envy and selfishness. Sometimes they do not want to sell me chickens or gas when the tourists come to eat here, they want it all for themselves. These things are happening here and sometimes I am disheartened and sometimes I do not feel like buying my freezer. Why am I going to invest for nothing if there are no people?¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Interview 11 with a resident of Cocachimba, 22 March 2011 – *El año pasado he tenido beneficios pero pienso que todo se ha malogrado cuando ese terreno lo han vendido. Yo tenía bastantes choferes que venían a comer a la casa y ahora todos se van allá a ese restaurante porque ahí les dan de comer gratis y les sirven de lo mejor. En semana santa ha vendido bastante gente y todos se iban a ese restaurante y ella no decía que tienen que registrarse al consejo. Los turista directo de ahí ya se iban a la catarata y no entraban a registrarse entonces eso está mal, ella le tiene que informar que tienen que registrarse y pagar sus ingresos para que se vayan a la catarata. A nosotros nos han enseñado en las capacitaciones que debemos atender de 25 a 30 personas pero ella atiende a más. Entonces si ya nos enseñado hasta cuanto podemos atender y si llegan más decirles que ya no se puede e indicarle donde están los otros restaurantes pero ella no, todo lo agarra, entonces quien lo puede solucionar. Cuando hay obligaciones, ellos no se van, no se van a juntar la basura, ellos se benefician diario; no es que sintamos envidia pero no debe ser así. Ella debe ser buena persona y si sabe que hay otros restaurantes, mandarlos algunos por ahí, pero ella no lo hace, entonces yo estoy incomoda en eso, no debe ser así como una persona se va a beneficiar diario y ni siguiera da un aporte a la asociación. Ella no está capacitada en restaurante, a nosotros nos han capacitado pero sin embargo todo ella se agarra. El presidente no tiene carácter, no puede reclamar porque él ha vendido el terreno a la Señora y en las reuniones ya no puede reclamar. Yo pienso que se debe cambiar el presidente porque el presidente tiene que tener carácter, tiene que ponerse los pantalones. Yo daba mis aportes diarios pero ahora que voy a dar si no tengo y además los que se benefician no dan ni un sol. Antes los carros que venían con los turistas les traían aquí a registrarse y luego las chicas que trabajaban aquí les indicaban donde pueden encontrar almuerzo pero ahora los choferes directo los llevan a ese restaurante, las chicas de acá ya no pueden decir nada porque los carros se van directo. Por ejemplo en semana santa, el día viernes, se han llenado los carros, yo les he dicho más de una vez que nosotros no hemos capacitado para dar una buena atención al turista, máximo unas 20 a 25 personas de acuerdo a nuestro servicios. Se ha malogrado el pueblo con lo que viene gente de otro sitio. El presidente de la asociación tiene que ver esto pero si él ha sido quien ha vendido el terreno, como va a reclamar. Antes nosotros reuníamos plata de lo que se cocinaba pero ahora ya no hay nada y la*

However, as the representative of MINCETUR Amazonas pointed out, residents need to improve their services and facilities and offer more dishes if they are to attract customers and compete with the increasing competition. Discussing this issue, the representative commented, ‘they do not understand the point, better said, they knew what could happen, but I do not know if their mind is so noble that they think that everyone is good and nobody will take away from them the opportunity for business. They were so trusting. As they were the only ones that offered the service, they did what they could but now they feel threatened’.¹¹⁰ The increased competition has created tensions among restaurant owners, which subsequently, has led in the collapse of the Association of Restaurants in Cocachimba. Feeling demoralised by the lack of customers, Señora Lucia explained that she had decided to leave the Restaurant Association as she felt nothing was being done by the president to try and resolve the issue.

I have spoken to the president of the Association and I have asked him to do something and to talk with the members of the Restaurant Association. Me, I prefer to be united and always talking together. We were going well, taking it in turns and it was good but now it is all spoilt. I told the president that I am going to leave as to be a member is to be together. I am going to be alone; I am not going to be a member. I think it is better like that as the president does not give us a solution, he remains quiet.¹¹¹

The growing popularity of Gocta as a tourist attraction has begun to draw people from outside the department. The recent construction of the Spanish owned hotel has seen the start of foreign investment in the small village. Built to a high standard and aimed at European and North American travellers, the hotel is part of a chain which connects Cocachimba with Chiclayo and Cajamarca. During the construction of the

señora del restaurante de la plaza, la que tiene toda la gente, ha dicho que no va a dar ni un sol. A veces da cólera estar aquí, es un pueblito pequeño pero hay tanta envidia y egoísmo, a veces no me quieren vender gallinas o gas cuando vienen algunos turistas a comer aquí, todo lo quieren para ellos solos. Esas cosas están ocurriendo acá y a veces me desanimo y a veces ya no tengo ganas de comprar mi congeladora, porque voy a invertir para nada si no hay gente.

¹¹⁰ Interview with the representative from MINCETUR Amazonas, 10 August 2011 – *No entienden el tema, mejor dicho, ellos sabían lo que podía pasar pero no sé si su mente es tan noble que piensa que todo el mundo es bueno y que nadie va a quitarles la oportunidad de negocio. Mucho se confiaban. Como eran los únicos que ofrecían el servicio, lo hacían como podían y ahora ya se siente amenazada.*

¹¹¹ Interview 4 with a resident of Cocachimba, 25 February 2011 – *He hablado con el presidente de la asociación y le he pedido haga algo y que hable con las socias de cocina. A mí, me gusta estar juntos y siempre conversar. Hemos estado yendo bien por turnos y estaba bonito pero ahora todo se ha malogrado. Yo le dicho al presidente que voy a salir. Así lo veo mejor porque el presidente no nos da una solución y se queda callado.*

hotel, the lack of resources available in the village meant that the majority of materials and builders had to be outsourced. Only the adobe bricks used for the first floor were made in Cocachimba; the other building materials, including tiles and bricks were bought from Chachapoyas.

Señora Alejandra, an experienced manager, was hired in to run the hotel and recruit and train the staff. There are currently three women from Cocachimba working in Gocta Lodge, employed to help with the daily upkeep of the hotel. Their main tasks are cleaning and laundry. It is the manager who deals with the customers and bookings. Currently, the hotel is searching for a chef, however due to the lack of trained expertise in this area in the village, they have been left with little alternative but to look in Chachapoyas and neighbouring towns. Señora Alejandra recounts:

I always tell the girls that they should take advantage that there is a hotel like this, that they should value this. I have always told them that what I teach them will stay with them. I am not going to stay, I have my family. Here the girls earn S/.20 a shift; if they work two shifts they get S/.40 a day. If not at work, from lunchtime they could be knitting cloths to sell them and get another income but they do not want to. They are only focused on the people. They only think that the tourist will come and will pay them money, nothing else. I do not know how this village will end up; they do not have a good square for the people to relax, to sit and they need more atmosphere but they do not worry about this. Honestly, I do not know what they want. Here we help them with what we can, giving them work. With the guides and the entry fee, all who come here have to pay an entry fee and a hire a guide, if they have or do not have a package and with the horses. When they only require accommodation, the tourists choose where to eat here in the village. We show them all the restaurants, without benefiting only one and they look and choose where to eat. They return happy. They always say the people are friendly.¹¹²

¹¹² Interview 26 with a resident of Cocachimba, 3 June 2011 – *Las chicas les digo siempre que deben aprovechar que hay un hotel así, que deben valorar este. Siempre les he dicho que lo que les enseño se va a quedar para ellas, yo no voy a quedar, tengo mi familia. Aquí las chicas ganan S/.20 por un turno, si ellas quisieran trabajar los dos turnos obtuvieran S/.40 diario. Si no pues a partir del medio día pueden estar haciendo tejidos para venderlos y obtener otro ingreso, pero no quieren, solo se están fijando en la gente. Solo piensan en que va a venir un turista y les va a pagar una plata y nada más. Yo no sé cómo va a terminar este pueblito, les falta una buena plaza para que la gente descanse, se siente y les falta más ambientes pero no se preocupan por eso, la verdad no sé qué es lo que quieren. Nosotros acá les ayudamos con lo que podemos, dándoles trabajo. Con los guías y con las entradas, todos los que llegan acá tienen que pagar entrada y guía si tengan o no tengan paquete y con los caballos. Cuando toman solo el servicio de alojamiento los turistas eligen donde comer aquí en el pueblo, nosotros los indicamos todos los restaurantes, sin beneficiar a uno solo y ellos buscan y eligen donde comer, vienen contentos, siempre dicen que la gente es muy amable.*

Critical of the attitudes of local residents, Señora Alejandra believes that despite having the potential to benefit from tourism, many of the villagers are not interested in putting in the effort needed. Instead they are just waiting for the people and economic benefits to come to them. She explains that she buys very little food from the village, most of it she gets from Pedro Ruíz and some from the next village, La Coca; because none of the residents are interested in selling it to her, and even goes as far as Chachapoyas to buy bread. What concerns her most, having worked in tourism for many years is that nobody in Cocachimba seems to be concerned that people from outside the village are fulfilling roles which they could quite easily do. During these early stages of tourism there is very little outside influence and residents have the opportunity to participate in its development. While some residents have chosen to play an active role, others have seen it as an opportunity to make some money quickly and sold their land. Most of the land leading to and on the edge of the village has now been sold and further hotels are set to be built. Gocta Lodge itself is expanding both its premises and its potential market by building cheaper accommodation for backpackers and guides. This threatens to restrict further the role of the local community as organised tour groups will start to bring their own multilingual guides from the more established tourism areas of the South, such as Cusco and Lima and local hostels that currently provide a cheaper alternative accommodation will lose the backpackers market to the hotel.

In the two years Señora Alejandra has been in Cocachimba she has felt isolated from the rest of the village and is rarely invited to meetings and parties. On this subject she comments:

They never invited me, but if they did invite me, I would like to go and participate. I like to help. Always I hear that they are going to have a meeting but because they never invite me I am embarrassed to attend. Sometimes when they have events, barbecues, I go alone; as they do not invite me I go alone to buy, to get together. It appears the village does not like outsiders. One time I organised an event for the opening of the hotel. I put a sign up in the community centre and apart from this I went house-to-house to invite them. The children could swim in the pool and drink hot chocolate; they had to bring their swimsuits. It was four in the afternoon and nobody had appeared, again we had to go and call them for the villagers to turn up. So we wanted to do things well but it appeared that to them it did not matter. They do not cooperate. One associate organised the gathering to drink hot chocolate for Christmas and some children came. We gave

them all the presents and the rest nothing, as they did not turn up.¹¹³

Although not openly discussed, many of the local residents were suspicious of outsiders like Señora Alejandra and Señora Christina and her husband who had moved into the community following the arrival of tourism in the village, with many believing they had spoilt the village. Señora Marta summed of the thoughts of many of villagers, commenting, ‘the village has been spoilt with those who come from another place. The president of the Association has to see this but it was him who sold the land, how are we going to complain?’¹¹⁴ The lack of interaction between Señora Alejandra and local residents has meant that neither party has been able to benefit from the other. With many years of experience working in a hotel and in tourism, Señora Alejandra, has the potential to help and teach those who wish to work in the sector, whereas the villagers have invaluable local knowledge they could share. An untapped resource, the people of Cocachimba are reluctant to use this available expertise. One reason for this reluctance might be due to their suspicions towards outsiders. However more likely is that by living in the hotel, which is far more lavish than the average home in Cocachimba, she stands apart from the rest of the village and is not seen as one of them.

Despite its rhetoric, the notion of community participation does not point towards all citizens being equally involved in the decision-making process on all issues. Instead, it is meant to be a channel through which well-established and agreed-to processes are open to all those who wish to be involved (George, Mair and Reid, 2009: 164). Determining the balance between the interests of the individual and the collective is crucial during the initial stages of tourism development. In order for tourism development goals to be successful, community-orientated efforts need to

¹¹³ Interview 26 with a resident of Cocachimba, 3 June 2011 – *Nunca me invitan pero si me invitarían me gustaría ir a participar, me gusta apoyar. Siempre escucho que van a tener una reunión pero como no me invitan me da vergüenza ir a las reuniones. A veces cuando hacen fiestas, parrilladas, yo voy sola, como no me invitan yo voy sola a comprar, a colaborar. Yo una vez hice una reunión para la inauguración del hotel. Puse un letrero en el salón comunal y aparte de eso fui casa por casa a invitarlos. Los niños van a bañar en la piscina, van a tomar su chocolate, tienen que llevar su ropa de baño. Eran a las cuatro de la tarde y nadie aparecía, otra vez hemos tenido que ir a llamarlos para que aparezcan los pobladores. Entonces nosotros queremos hacer cosas bien pero parece que a ellos no les importa, no colaboran. Una practicante hizo una chocolatata para navidad y han venido algunos niños, a ellos le hemos dado todos los regalos y a los demás ya nada porque no aparecieron.*

¹¹⁴ Interview 11 with a resident of Cocachimba, 22 March 2011 – *Se ha malogrado el pueblo con lo que viene gente de otro sitio. El presidente de la asociación tiene que ver esto pero si él ha sido quien ha vendido el terreno, como vas a reclamar?*

be geared towards the overall requirements of the community and not the individual. While it is important for individuals to be able to act on their initiative and for individual expression to prosper, the interests of the community need to be kept in the forefront, as ‘without community and its potential to enforce sanctions that protect the collectivity, individuals may simply engage in unfettered self-advancement at the expense of their fellow human beings as well as the social and ecological environment’ (George, Mair and Reid, 2009: 161).

Barriers to Community Participation in the Tourism Development Process

The growing complexities of communities and the relationships that exist within them pose a significant challenge to achieving sustainable tourism development. According to Tosun (1999) limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries can be split into three categories: (i) limitation at operational level; (ii) structural limitations; and (iii) cultural limitations. Using Tosun’s framework, barriers to achieving community participation in Cocachimba are evaluated.

Limitation at Operation Level

In most developing countries public administration tends to be highly centralised and well established at national level. Centralisation restricts the influence of community-level groups on planning processes and increases the gap between planners and the mass of the population. As Timothy notes, ‘the successful implementation of national-level initiatives might require the involvement of lower-level governments. This is because tourism development usually requires critical, local knowledge, something that is often lacking in large, distant capital cities among leaders which are less familiar with regional cultures and local conditions’ (1998: 55). In order to implement any form of community participation there needs to be a decentralisation of political, administrative and financial powers from central government to the regional and local levels. Peru has a long history of centralist government, which has seen a concentration of resources in the nation’s capital city, Lima. Real moves towards decentralisation began in 2002, when political autonomy was granted to the country’s 25 regions. Since then there has been an increase in the size of fiscal transfers as well as the transfer of a large number of responsibilities to both local and regional governments. As part of the decentralisation process, DICETUR was

established to aid regional development by allowing each department to plan and execute its own tourism policies, promote local tourism and strengthen tourism regulation, technical and professional training. DICETUR Amazonas has had a small presence in Cocachimba, funding some small infrastructural projects and organising educational workshops. However, a lack of expertise in tourism planning has meant that their role has been limited. Also, with the majority of those working for DICETUR on short-term contracts of six months to one year, staff are spread very thinly and are employed to work on a specific project, causing some aspects of tourism planning and development to be overlooked. The lack of long-term staff means that there is little continuity and when the director changes, generally, the projects do as well, leaving some uncompleted.

Tourism by its very nature is diverse and multifaceted, comprising of a wide range of public and private agencies, service providers and tourists. Community participation as a development strategy in tourism requires coordination between and amongst: (i) government agencies; (ii) different levels of administration (national, regional and local); (iii) cross-border cooperation between same-level polities; (iv) cooperation between the private and public sector; and (iv) cooperation between private sector services (Timothy, 1998: 54; 2002: 162). Despite there being a number of agencies present in Cocachimba, there is little cooperation between the regional government, the local municipality, the community and NGOs. As a result, projects are often duplicated and do not benefit from full cooperation between local and tourism planners. The lack of coordination decreases potential opportunities for community involvement in the tourism development process.

In most developing countries there is often an absence of up-dated information regarding the socio-economic structures of host communities. Due to the lack of financial resources and expertise, such information is not continuously gathered and processed and even that which has been collected has not been disseminated to residents in a manner which is comprehensible to them (Tosun, 2000: 620). In Cocachimba, the majority of residents are not well informed about tourism development. Therefore, a high level of community participation cannot be expected. Many residents are unable to read and write and there is nobody to inform them of developments. This lack of communication and information increases the knowledge gap between communities and tourism planners, further isolating residents from participating in the tourism development process. More comprehensible information

needs to be collected and disseminated amongst the host community, with a clear platform made available for them to voice their opinions and objections.

Structural Limitations

Quite often professionals are unwilling to accept the opinion of laymen and women, as it is perceived to undermine their professional basis; they dismiss the possibility of better alternatives being suggested by those with no professional training as unrealistic. Despite NGOs pushing community participation in Cocachimba, unconsciously it is often their members who are reluctant to integrate the ideas of amateurs, seeing themselves as the 'experts' in the matter. Despite the fact that community participation is an integral part of sustainable tourism development, few developing countries have sufficient experience in this area. There is a lack of experience among the various agencies working in Cocachimba when dealing with community participation and few are, if any, trained in tourism planning. Those who do have some knowledge in this area have been trained in more traditional planning techniques which do not include community participation. Many of the agencies working with the host community are consequently unsure of how to incorporate it successfully into their planning. Often decisions are made by these agencies on what they perceive the community needs and how it should be involved in the tourism development process, but there is little consultation with the community regarding their perceived needs, objectives and issues. Community participation requires a considerable amount of time, money and skills to organise and successfully implement (Tosun, 2000: 624). Time consuming and complex, participation can cause delays in the decision-making process, as well as lead to conflicting objectives with local strategies and objectives. The limited financial resources available to public institutions such as DICETUR, has meant that funds allocated to the participation of residents in Cocachimba in the tourism development process have been limited. Also, they do not have the required trained personal to implement this strategy.

Foreign domination of the tourism sector in developing countries has resulted in a loss of control over resources by local communities. The struggle between elites and local people over resources has largely been ignored by local and central governments and few if any political and economic policies have been adopted to affect the balance between local and external ownership. As a result, tourism

development is not driven by the community but by local elites in conjunction with international tour operators (Tosun, 2000: 623). There are no measures in place in Cocachimba to counteract elite domination. As Gocta becomes more popular, 'outsiders' are beginning to buy land in the village and construct hotels. Gradually, as the stakeholder platform steadily expands and more influential external forces come into play, residents are starting to lose control over its resources and the speed of tourism development. One of the main obstacles preventing host communities from participating in tourism development is the lack of financial resources available to them. The capital needed to develop a tourist infrastructure, often to western standards, makes it impossible for residents to play a large role. In Cocachimba the majority of inhabitants do not have the funds available or the means to acquire capital to develop/construct tourist infrastructure. This has resulted in outside interests filling the gap, for example building hotels, making it very difficult for local people to maintain control over the pace and style of development. In addition, Cocachimba does not have the sufficient expertise and trained personnel needed in the tourism sector. Consequently, employees from other parts of the country are beginning to be brought in to fill these roles.¹¹⁵ In Cocachimba, many of the unskilled low paid jobs associated with tourism have been left for members of the community. The more skilled positions have attracted workers from the regions capital, Chachapoyas, with some coming further afield, from Lima and Tarapoto.

It has been contended that a legal structure is needed in order to ensure a community's right to participate in tourism development and defend its interests. Many of the legal structures present in developing countries do not encourage local people to participate in local affairs. Instead, the legislative system puts further distance between grass-roots and formal authorities (Tosun, 2000: 623). Although community participation is advocated by national and regional authorities, in practice

¹¹⁵ When the research was carried out in Cocachimba, a hotel manager had been brought in from Tarapoto to run the Spanish run hotel, additional hotel managers from Lima were expected to be brought in to run the hotel that was under construction during the fieldwork. In addition, the Spanish hotel was looking to hire a chef from outside of the village. During the construction of the hotel builders were brought in from the regions capital Chachapoyas. Although the hotel manager could not verify how many builders had been used during its construction, the researcher observed that five builders from Chachapoyas were being used to build the extension to cater for backpacker and guides at the time of the fieldwork. However, in addition two local men were being trained as builders by the building firm. English speaking guides from Chachapoyas are used by travel agencies on a regular basis to accompany tourists to the waterfall instead of local guides. In the future guides from the south of the country are expected to accompany tourists to Cocachimba as more hotels are constructed and more 'package tours' become available.

legal structures do not encourage communities like Cocachimba to participate, with most citizens unaware of their rights.

Cultural Limitations

The low economic status of many citizens of host communities can act as a barrier towards them becoming involved in tourism development. The majority of residents in Cocachimba do not have the time or see it as a priority, to participate in the development of tourism in the village; their primary concern is with meeting basic needs and making ends meet. Additionally, there are some members of the community who would like to participate but do not have the confidence to voice their opinions in front of other residents and the various agency workers. The lack of public speaking experience among local people acts as a deterrent and stops them from actively participating. Most residents were embarrassed to speak out and raise any concerns they had.

It is generally accepted that there is a low level of interest in and awareness about socio-cultural, economic and political issues among the grassroots, largely because of their previous exclusion from the domain (Tosun, 2000: 625). Given the lack of opportunities in the past to express themselves, they are reluctant to contribute to matters that reach beyond their own immediate family. In addition, many are not aware of the services and provisions available to them and place little demand on institutions to accommodate their needs. The residents who actively participate in tourism development in Cocachimba are those who are gaining financially from tourism and seeing the benefits of being involved. Those who receive few benefits have little interest in the matter and will only participate in issues that directly affect them.

The contribution of community involvement to develop tourism in a sustainable manner is dependent upon certain conditions. Community participation alone cannot secure the support of the community to implement measures and develop tourism in a certain way and may only serve to strengthen local support for those forms of tourism desired by the host destination. Developing the types of tourism which benefits local residents and not outsiders is a difficult task. Although, participatory development increases opportunities for local people to become more involved in and familiar with the tourism sector, these opportunities are often dependent upon

resident's ability to optimise them, availability of capital and central and regional government support for a participatory tourism development strategy. It is therefore, local conditions that will ultimately determine the success of a strategy and invariably, these vary from destination to destination.

Chapter 6

Losing Sight of the Goal: Development and Consolidation Stages

Having either used up or destroyed all that is neutral, people from the advanced consumer societies are compelled to look for natural wildlife, cleaner air, lush greenery and golden beaches elsewhere. In other words, they look for other environments to consume. Thus armed with their bags tourists proceed to consume the environment in countries of the Third World – the last unspoiled corner of the earth (Hong, 1985: 12 in Brohman, 1996: 58 – 59).

Introduction

Central to the sustainable development debate is the relationship between economic growth, social equity and environmental sustainability. Sustainable tourism requires a balance between these three dimensions in order to guarantee long-term sustainability. However, reaching equilibrium appears to be an impossible task as one parameter always takes precedence over the others. Therefore, from the outset, sustainable tourism appears to be unworkable and possibly even a myth. Nevertheless, the illusion still exists within academic circles and governments that tourism development can occur whilst simultaneously preserving natural resources. In reality however, there is very little chance that tourism can operate without reducing the quality or quantity of natural resources. In the case of rural tourism, ‘the fabric of the countryside is very much the lifeblood of rural tourism’ (Garrod et al. 2006: 118). By developing tourism in periphery regions, rural communities, such as Cocachimba, are forced to confront the tourism environmental paradox in that it simultaneously requires its natural resources for both the production and consumption of tourism, but yet also requires the ecological protection of these resources in order to sustain its competitiveness and appeal. Indeed without an attractive landscape or a range of rural-based activities, there would be no viable product to sell to tourists.

There is little doubt that Cocachimba possesses the potential for further tourism development. The same conditions which define this area as underdeveloped and isolated are the very same which attract tourists and along with it foreign investment. With relatively few unspoiled areas left in the world, tourists are continually searching for more remote areas to experience nature at its purest. However, as Carter notes, ‘as the emphasis is on visiting unspoilt natural

environments, previously remote areas with delicately balanced socio-cultural and physical regimes are drawn into the locus of international tourism. These areas are consequently all the more susceptible to environmental degradation and socio-cultural disruption' (Cater, 1993: 88).

The promotion of Gocta as a tourist attraction and the subsequent emergence of Cocachimba as a destination area have redefined the economic role and monetary value placed on the local environment. Cocachimba has been able to successfully exploit its natural resources, which have been recast as natural capital, transformed into a product and sold to the open consumer market in order to optimise its potential as a tourist destination. What is questionable is not tourism's contribution to economic growth but rather its ability to be developed and crucially, sustained in a sustainable manner, especially once it has become integrated into the global market. As Wheeler notes 'sustainable tourism has burdened itself with conflicting incompatible objectives – small scale sensitivity and limited numbers to be achieved in tandem with economic viability and significant income and employment impacts' (1991: 93). Since the opening up of Gocta as a tourist attraction the national and regional government have been keen to promote sustainable tourism as a tool for socio-economic development in the area. With tourism becoming increasingly important to communities such as Cocachimba, the need to manage and develop it in a sustainable manner is of primary concern. The welfare of future generations depends on the present generation's prudent use and protection of these resources.

As discussed in chapter 4, given tourism's potential to act as an effective tool for development, it is fair to assume that the objectives of tourism-related development should ideally correspond to the fundamental principles of sustainable development. Despite this assumption, further analysis revealed that although during the early stages of tourism development, the destination area was able to adhere closely to those principles, as it progressed through its 'life cycle' it began to move further away from the fundamental ideas that define sustainable tourism development. During the development and consolidation stages the environmental sustainability of the destination area is called into question. As the destination area becomes more popular and visitor numbers increase, it attracts investors from outside the community keen to cash in on its potential. Large areas of land previously unmaintained and wild are transformed as large sums of money are spent acquiring land and improving infrastructure. The inability of the community to compete with

this outside investment, largely owing to a lack of finance and expertise, pushes them further out of the planning and developing process. Development becomes uncontrolled as buildings are constructed without planning permission to meet the growing demand for tourism facilities and increasing pressure is placed on natural resources as tourism competes with other economic sectors for their use. The sale of land to investors from outside the community further contributes to the loss of control over the tourism development process by communities, whilst simultaneously pushing up the cost of land and living in the destination area and making it difficult for local residents to remain in the locality. By the time the destination area enters the consolidation stage the local community is no longer a major stakeholder in the promotion of tourism. As workers and investors from outside the community are brought in to fulfil certain skill sets needed to further develop tourism, the community becomes further detached from the decision-making process.

Cocachimba's Relationship with Nature: Questioning Sustainability

Cocachimba, like so many other communities around the world, has become involved in tourism as a means of improving the livelihoods of its residents, the benefits of which are often reflected in economic and infrastructural growth. The tourism sector, as one of the few cash-generating activities in the areas, is an increasingly important source of employment for the village. The lure of increased employment and a larger income has seen the village increasingly focuses on the development of tourism and move away from the more traditional economic activity of farming. Over dependence on tourism to generate and sustain weak economies has long been recognised as a potential cost of tourism development. Despite efforts to develop it within a sustainable framework, tourism is set to become the dominant economic activity in Cocachimba. Consequently, the potential for economic growth has tended to override the detrimental environmental and social consequences to the community. Since 2007 there has been a sharp decrease in the amount of land being farmed every year. As the president of the tourism association explained:

In the first place, before tourism, we lived more from agriculture; from the mill, from the sowing of potatoes and yuccas, 100 per cent dedicated to this. And now since 2007, 2008 tourism has been prioritised and in second place is the mill. Now tourism is the main economic activity but it is not like before tourism because before in the months of June and July one saw a quantity of small plots of farm land, all were

deforested and we sowed corn and beans and on this we survived because there was no other alternative source of income. But now with tourism this has been changing, for example, last year there were only six plots of corn. Look how it has lowered, so one sees that tourism is being prioritised, before there were 30 to 40 plots.¹¹⁶

However, the growing reliance of the local economy on tourism increases its vulnerability to the seasonal aspects of tourism and to shock such as natural disasters and economic downturn. In addition, sudden changes in consumer's tastes pose significant risk to an economy dependant on tourism for its survival.

Following notions of its parental paradigm, sustainable tourism development should not only increase the economic welfare of the host destination but should also simultaneously promote social and environmental responsibility. The integration of tourism into the daily life of Cocachimba has raised many questions concerning the conservation of the local environment and the increasing pressure being placed on natural resources in the area. Operationalising sustainability depends upon the community's ability and willingness to minimise resource depletion and environmental degradation. As Akama points out when discussing local people's attitudes towards environmental conservation in Kenya, often rural communities 'social and environmental values contrast dramatically with those held by conservation officials and Western tourists. Local people, preoccupied by meeting their subsistence needs, confront poverty and famine compound by wildlife's destruction of their property. They therefore cannot afford to grant aesthetic value and the goals of long-term nature conservation a high priority' (1996: 57).

It is widely accepted that development and environmental concerns cannot be separated given that poverty is a major cause and effect of environmental problems. As the World Bank notes in its report on Honduras, 'the presence of poverty can affect the potential of tourism. This link is particularly clear when looking at nature-based tourism: the population living in poor areas often are subsistence farmers or in

¹¹⁶ Interview 29 with a resident of Cocachimba, 8 June 2011 - En primer lugar, antes del turismo, vivíamos más de la agricultura; de la molienda, de la siembra de papas, yucas, 100 por ciento dedicados a eso. Y ahora ya, desde el 2007, 2008, se ha priorizado la actividad del turismo y en segundo lugar ya está la molienda. Ahora el turismo es la principal actividad económica pero ya no es como antes del turismo porque antes en los meses de junio y julio se veía cantidad de chacras, todo estaba desforestado y sembrábamos frejol y maíz y con eso subsistíamos porque no había otra alternativa otra fuente de ingreso. Pero ya con el turismo esto ha ido cambiado, por ejemplo, el año pasado solo ha habido seis chacras de maíz. Mire cómo ha reducido entonces se ve que se está priorizando el turismo, antes había 30 a 40 chacras.

other ways use natural resources in an unsustainable way' (2004: 17). Sustainable development posits that inter-generational equity (the impact of the environmental change on future generations) and intra-generational equity (environmental degradation today and poverty) can be met by giving individuals and communities' greater power over their resources, therefore, enabling them to meet their needs in a more sustainable manner and conserve the environment. However, greater control over resources by local communities is very difficult to maintain throughout a destination's life cycle given that environmental concerns tend to remain subordinate to meeting subsistence needs for most host communities. Tourism changes the monetary value placed on natural resources and transforms them into a commodity which can be sold at a high price. It is this temptation by host communities to choose immediate economic benefits over long-term sustainability that (i) encourages tourism to develop in such a way that concern for sustainability of the tourism product itself is paramount rather than achieving sustainable development through tourism, and, (ii) seriously reduces tourism's potential to generate broad based growth as natural resources are often sold to people from outside the community, leading to a loss of control over resources.

Entering the development stage of its 'life cycle', Cocachimba has found itself at a cross road. Traditionally its economy has been highly dependent on agriculture and the production of maize and sugarcane. However, with agricultural production fluctuating because of global warming and the change in seasons, tourism has provided an important additional source of income.¹¹⁷ The opening up of Cocachimba to tourism has dramatically altered local people's relationship with nature and whilst, awareness and support has been raised on the subject, the reasons behind this appear to be superficial, as discussed later in the chapter. Residents have found themselves enmeshed in the international global tourism system, where difficult choices regarding environmental sustainability have to be made. Cocachimba, like so many other tourist destinations, has had to choose between immediate economic benefits and long-term sustainability. Forced to confront its environmental paradox, Cocachimba has concentrated its efforts on the sustainability of its tourism product rather than the sustainable development of the community through tourism. The measures implemented are designed to preserve its natural,

¹¹⁷ Refer to Table 14 for statistics regarding agriculture production in Peru.

built and socio-cultural resource base for the purpose of developing and maintaining the tourism product.

It can be argued that environmental sustainability is the cornerstone of tourism development since the natural environment makes up most of its primary resource base. Despite this, tourism places enormous pressure on natural resources, creates a large amount of additional waste for host destinations and damages fragile ecosystems. The rising numbers of visitors to Cocachimba each year has led to a significant rise in waste. Owing to the lack of proper policy and management strategies in place, residents have become responsible for tourism waste and left with the dilemma of what to do with it. Rubbish is becoming an increasing problem, in particular plastic bottles, as tourists leave their litter behind or throw it away on the long trek to the waterfall. Residents were quick to point the finger at national rather than international tourists and were annoyed by their disregard for their local environment. With the majority of litter being thrown away on the trail, guides carry a separate bag with them to pick up any rubbish and empty the few bins installed along the route. Regular communal work days are also organised by the Association to help maintain the village free of any garbage. To combat the additional waste the community has set up a waste management programme which involves waste separation, recycling and composting. Members of the tourism association collect the waste and separate it into glass, plastic, paper and organic material and then sold. Recently, the community constructed a storage unit to store all the rubbish until they either have enough to sell or can dispose of it. Commenting on this, Señor Emilio explained:

We have a recycling bin near to here, 50 metres below and there we recycle the disposable waste, the glass, and separate what is organic. This is how we have organised it and it is running more than a year. When it has built up, sometimes people come and take it to sell. The disposable plastic they sell per kilo. Mostly we have plastic, there is little paper. The guides carry a backpack to pick up the disregarded waste, this way the path stays clean.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Interview 27 with a resident of Cocachimba, 3 June 2011 – *Tenemos un reciclaje cerca de aquí, a 50 metros abajo y ahí reciclamos los descartables, los vidrios y aparte lo que es orgánico. Así lo tenemos organizado y ya está funcionando más de un año. Cuando ya se acumula, a veces hay personas que vienen y se lo llevan a venderlo, los descartables plásticos lo venden por kilo. Mayormente tenemos plástico, el papel es poco. Los guías llevan una mochila para recoger los descartables, de esa manera el camino se mantiene limpio.*

Currently, recycling waste is sold for around 40 cents a kilo and the money raised goes back into the Association. However, non-recyclable waste is either burnt or buried outside the village. With waste productions set to increase substantially in the next few years due to the construction of a number of hotels and the expected rise in visitor numbers, it seems unlikely that the community will be able to continue to manage waste in this manner. Therefore, the involvement of the municipality is crucial to developing a more permanent solution to the problem. However, it seems unlikely that the additional waste produced from tourism will be managed in a sustainable manner given the municipality's plans to open a landfill site. Instead it should be encouraging the management of waste through waste separation at source, waste reduction, reuse, recycling, and composting. Discussing current and future plans for waste management, the president of the tourism association commented:

The recyclable waste we store, crush it and then sell it to the recycling people that come to collect to it. But in the future there will be more. Therefore, we are coordinating with the municipality to have a landfill site in the district. Recently, they have carried out an evaluation of the place where the landfill could be located, because this is also important.¹¹⁹

The change in relationship between residents and its natural surroundings/resources brought about through tourism development has undoubtedly contributed to a shift in their attitudes towards the environment. Raised awareness and support of the local habitat has also led to a change in habits regarding the hunting of animals and the protection of the forest.

At the start we hunted birds and animals such as deer and turkeys from the forests. The majority lived from hunting up until we had almost killed all the animals but when tourism began all this stopped. Now there is consciousness of how we can kill an innocent bird through the training they carried out in the community and in the school. Before, for necessity we went and killed the birds but now we can go and buy a chicken or what we want. Now, already, the number of birds is starting to recover. For example before, there were very few brown turkeys, they were running out but now one sees that they are increasing. We are protecting the forest and the habitat of the birds because if we make our small plots of

¹¹⁹ Interview 29 with a resident of Cocachimba, 08 June 2011 - *Los descartables nosotros lo almacenamos, lo chancamos y lo vendemos a los recicladores que vienen. Pero en un futuro cuando haya más, entonces estamos coordinando con el municipio que haya un relleno sanitario a nivel de distrito. Recién se está haciendo una evaluación del lugar donde se debe ubicar el relleno, porque eso también es importante.*

farm land and we burn it, how many years will pass for it to become this forest again? So this we have come to understand. Before, for example to make two hectares of farmland, we cut the forest and we burnt it, we ploughed it and the following year we did it once again. When the land no longer produced we went higher and we did the same. Above everything else, we have used a chemical fertiliser; many years will have to pass for this land to return to forest.¹²⁰

The additional income brought into the village through tourism during the exploration and involvement stages of Cocachimba 'life cycle' has been the main catalyst for uniting the community on this issue. Cocachimbas' tourism resource base is centred on its natural landscape. Therefore, the protection of the waterfall, cloud forests and fauna and flower found in the area are paramount to its survival as a tourist destination. Consequently, a two-way relationship between the conservation of the local environment and tourism growth has developed. In the interviews conducted, all villagers openly acknowledged that it was important to look after the environment. However, for the majority, the importance of looking after the environment was linked to, and associated with ensuring the continued flow of tourists, rather than a concern for pollution, extinction of species, soil erosion as a result of deforestation etc.

With tourism now a prominent part of life in Cocachimba, most notably in the summer, the hunting and killing of animals, the picking of wild flowers and logging have been prohibited in the area surrounding Gocta. As Brohman notes, 'tourism development creates 'winners' and 'losers' among local residents, often without any common acceptance as to the equity of such redistribution' (1996: 60). Whilst the majority of residents of Cocachimba are involved in tourism and it is therefore in their interest to protect the local environment, the wider community,

¹²⁰ Interview 29 with a resident of Cocachimba, 8 June 2011 - *Al principio nos íbamos a cazar aves y animales del bosque, venados, pavas, la mayoría vivíamos de la caza, y hasta que casi lo hemos terminado a los animales de tanto cazar, pero ya cuando entro el turismo, se anuló todo eso. Hay más conciencia de cómo podemos matar a un ave inocente a través de las capacitaciones que se hacen en la comunidad y en la escuela. Antes por necesidad nos íbamos y matábamos las aves pero ahora ya podemos ir y comprarnos una gallina o lo que queramos. Ahora ya se están recuperando el número de aves. Por ejemplo antes había pocas pavas pardas, ya se estaban acabando y ahora se ve que están aumentando. Estamos protegiendo el bosque y el hábitat de las aves. Si hacemos chacra y lo quemamos, cuantos años tendría que pasar para que haya otra vez ese bosque. Entonces eso hemos llegado a entender. Antes por ejemplo para hacer dos hectáreas de chacra, cortábamos el bosque y quemábamos, arábamos y al siguiente año hacíamos eso nuevamente. Cuando ya el terreno no producía, nos íbamos más arriba y hacíamos el mismo. Sobre todo si se ha utilizado abono químico; deben pasar muchos años para que esa tierra vuelva a ser bosque.*

which encompasses neighbouring villages, still rely solely on the land to survive. Seeing little, if any benefits from tourism, farmers feel they have little choice but to clear the land for planting crops regardless of the environmental consequences. Their main priority is meeting subsistence needs and, as in the case of Akama's (1996) study, long-term nature conservation is not seen as a priority. It is poverty and the low level of development in the area that prevents them from being able to implement environmental protection measures. Wildfires in the cloud forests surrounding Gocta still occur on a regular basis. Fires started by farmers to clear land and burn items, quickly spread, destroying large areas of forests and leaving a thick layer of smoke. As Señora Yuliana points out in some instances people are not aware of how potentially hazardous fires can be. She explained, 'one month ago there was a fire issue with someone who was not from here and who was not aware of what he had done. He burnt a bed of termites but with the wind the fire caught the plants and then it spread. An old lady unconsciously did the same and it burnt. But these acts have been done by people that do not know what they are doing'.¹²¹ Whilst there is some sympathy and understanding for the situation of these farmers, their ambivalence towards the regulations has created some tension between the residents of Cocachimba and the wider community. As Señor Emilio explained:

We have had difficult moments in confronting them. We had to argue a little and there was resentment because they were not responsible in recognising it. Well, in any case, we applied the rules of the community and they were put in charge of reforesting. We are trying to raise awareness to the neighbours, recommending that it does not happen like before because now we have many visits it is necessary to look after the forests and nature.¹²²

However, there are some residents who equate their perceived unwillingness to comply with the measures in place with a lack of understanding of the need to

¹²¹ Interview 24 with a resident of Cocachimba, 25 May 2011 – *Hace un mes hubo un problema de incendio por parte de una persona que no era de acá y que no estaba consciente de lo que hacía. Quemó una cama de termitas pero con el viento el fuego se pegó a las plantas y se amplió el fuego. Una ancianita igual quemó inconscientemente. Pero estos actos sean hecho por personas que no saben lo que hacen.*

¹²² Interview 27 with a resident of Cocachimba, April 2011 – *Hemos tenido momentos difíciles de afrontarlos. Hemos tenido que discutir un poco y hubo resentimientos porque no fueron conscientes en reconocerlo. Bueno de todas maneras aplicamos las disciplinas, las normas de la comunidad y ellos se hicieron cargo de reforestar. Estamos tratando de concienciar a los vecinos, recomendando que no suceda como antes porque ahora que tenemos muchas visitas es necesario mantener el bosque, la naturaleza.*

conserve the environment. As Señora Adriana commented; ‘Some people they don’t understand, they don’t want to understand and they light fires and this can spoil the waterfall and then there will be no tourism’.¹²³ With residents associating the conservation of the environment with ensuring tourism income, the obvious question comes to mind; if the economic benefits received through tourism development continue to decline in the coming years will residents concern for the environment diminish as well?

Although wildfires are the main issue in the area, other incidents such as logging still occur despite the implementation of these measures. The seasonal nature of tourism and its vulnerability to external events such as global recession’s means that earnings generated are subject to dramatic fluctuations, making it difficult for local people to sustain an income from tourism all year around. The increase in the number of stakeholders during the development and consolidation stages further limits the benefits received by residents, forcing local people to search for alternative sources of income. For those living in a rural setting like Cocachimba, the local environment and its natural resources offer one of the few means available to them to substitute their income. When tourism income is down, meeting subsistence needs takes precedence over environmental conservation. An incident involving a young man from Cocachimba demonstrated how the fragile alliance between the villagers and the environment can quickly evaporate when the perceived benefits of tourism are either significantly decreased or fail to transpire. In this case, the young farmer, who also worked as a guide, was struggling to repay a loan he had taken out. During the initial stages of tourism development, he had borrowed money to turn his home into a small hostel, however, the seasonal nature of tourism and increased competition in the village, most notably from the Spanish owned hotel, had placed him under increasing pressure to meet the repayments. In an attempt to earn extra money he, with the help of a few others, cut down a number of trees and sold them in Chachapoyas. Recounting the incident, Señor Alfredo explained how the village felt betrayed by the actions of the young man.

There was a young person that cut down the forest in the part above Gocta. He did it, I do not know, to be macho or because of the influence of other people. He knew well that it is prohibited, in the training, in the talks he heard. Until now

¹²³ Interview 13 with a resident of Cocachimba, 1 April 2011 - *Algunas personas no entienden o no quieren entender y se ponen a quemar y eso puede malograr la catarata y que ya no haya turismo.*

we do not know how this will end, what the law will say. For this reason he has been suspended from the association for eight months, without his benefits. We want that they completely take them away. We said that being a guide he is betraying the village, there is no longer trust. Besides he had problems, he made a mistake and now he is pleading with the people not to make problems with the authorities. With the public prosecutor they will go to see the wood to see what has happened because it is prohibited to cut down the forest, at least the cedar tree which is disappearing. We did it because he is a guide. It appears very strange to us because one as a guide has to take care and respect. He has been benefiting with tourism as a guide and he did not act correctly. Still he is recommended by some tourists as a good guide, he went with biologists through the mountain range. So this young man saw a business with the wood. In destroying the flowers they are destroying the fauna as well because the noise makes the animals that are in the mountain run. Therefore, he has been a brute to do these things for the village and for me. I see that first is to maintain and take care of our forests and what he has done was not like us.¹²⁴

What angered villagers the most was his failure to act in a more responsible manner. As a member of the tourism association and as a guide he had regularly attended meetings held by the community and was fully aware that among the measures put in place to help protect the local environment was the prohibition of logging. In the forest above the waterfall, there are some of the oldest and rarest trees in the area. The young man was responsible for cutting down a number of cedar trees, which are known to be disappearing from the surrounding cloud forests. The bark and wood from these trees have been used by locals for generations whilst its evergreen foliage adds colour all year round and its branches attract the various bird species in the area.

¹²⁴ Interview 16 with a resident of Cocachimba, 4 May 2011 - *Había un adolescente que en la parte arriba de Gocta ha cortado los bosques. Lo ha hecho, no sé si por machista o por influencia de otras personas. Él ha sabido bien que está prohibido, ya en capacitaciones, en las charlas se ha oído. Hasta ahora no sabemos cómo quedara eso, que dirá la justicia. Por esa razón se ha suspendido de la asociación ocho meses, sin sus beneficios. Nosotros queríamos que lo saquen total. Decíamos como siendo guía va traicionar al pueblo, ya no hay confianza. Además el ya he tenido problemas, ha cometido un error y luego está rogando a la gente que no hay que hacer problemas con la autoridad. Con la fiscalía irán a la madera a ver qué ha pasado porque está prohibido cortar los bosques, al menos el cedro que está perdiendo. Nosotros más lo hacemos porque es guía. Nos parece muy raro a nosotros porque uno como guía hay que cuidar y respetar. Él se ha estado beneficiando con el turismo como guía y él no actuado correctamente. Él todavía venía recomendado por algunos turistas que era buen guía, se iban por la cordillera con biólogos. Entonces este jovencito ha visto un negocio con la madera. Al destruir las flores están destruyendo la fauna también porque el ruido hace correr a los animalitos que hay en la montaña. Entonces ha sido un bruto para hacer esas cosas para el pueblo y para mí. Yo veo que lo primero es mantener y cuidar nuestro bosque y lo que él ha hecho no nos parecía.*

It is evident from the strong reaction of residents how important tourism is to the community and the local economy. It is very rare for the authorities to be involved in local issues in Cocachimba as residents prefer to try to settle matters amongst themselves. Their involvement demonstrates how seriously it is taken when tourism is potentially threatened. Originally a meeting was called to try and resolve the issue and reprimand those responsible. However, despite the tourism association banning the person in question from working as a guide for eight months, the matter remained unresolved. The decision was then taken to inform the local authorities and denounce the young men.

A case occurred here that a young man and a guide from here fell into the mistake of cutting wood. They removed cedar trees and spoilt the forest at the top of Gocta and we felt very upset about this because the older part of the forest has been spoilt. So we brought it up two, three times and the boys laughed in our faces. We called them and they did not take any notice, they laughed. So in this case we had to call the superior authorities. At the police, at the public prosecutors we made a report and they came and they validated it. They also said that we should first solve it in the community because this is very delicate and it is punishable. The state has rules also and so they told them off and we have arrived at an agreement that is still outstanding. They, as a punishment have to settle a debt that the community will set how much it will be and this is a moral lesson for them.¹²⁵

In addition to its economic role sustainable tourism is considered an effective means of achieving a more equitable social condition both on a local and global scale. However, the touristic-centric nature of the tourism development undermines the potential for achieving those objectives. Despite adapting a number of environmental initiatives and raising awareness on the matter, there is little evidence to show that environmental issues have been integrated into the economic decision process within the Cocachimba. The limited amount of funds made available for the conservation of

¹²⁵ Interview 27 with a resident of Cocachimba, 3 June 2011 - *Sucedió un caso aquí de que un joven de aquí y un guía cayeron en el error de cortar madera. Sacaron arboles de cedro y malograron el bosque en la parte de Gocta y eso lo hemos sentido mucho porque mayor parte del bosque se ha malogrado. Entonces hemos llamamos la atención dos, tres veces y los muchachos se reía en nuestra cara. Los hemos llamado y no se acercaban para nada, se reían. Entonces en ese caso hemos tenido que llamar a autoridades superiores. A la policía, a la fiscalía hemos puesto una denuncia, ellos vinieron y constataron. Ellos también dijeron que primero debemos solucionarlo en la comunidad porque esto es muy delicado y está penalizado. Hay normas que el estado también da y entonces los han amonestado y hemos llegado a un arreglo que todavía está pendiente. Ellos, como castigo tienen que cancelar un fondo que la comunidad ya lo va disponer cuánto va ser y esa es una disciplina moral para ellos.*

the environment seriously restricts the ability of the local government to manage and protect its natural resources. As the mayor of Valera noted, ‘we know that if we do not preserve the upper part, if we do not avoid the burnings, Gocta can dry from here in 30 years. But money is the limitation for the municipality. There is not any to be able to reforest above, there is not any to pay people to look after it, there is no money’.¹²⁶ Without a set of coherent policies in place for tourism development and management, increasing pressure is being placed on the fragile ecosystem, causing degradation of the physical environment and disturbing wildlife, as well as on natural resources in the area, in particular land, with large areas of wasteland being cleared for construction.

Inter and intra-generational equity has been put in jeopardy through the sale of land.¹²⁷ The sustainable future of Cocachimba depends on the careful management of its resources to ensure their availability for present and future generations. However, the absence of an integrated planning approach has allowed residents to sell land to investors from outside the community. Private ownership of land in Cocachimba and the area surrounding the waterfall makes it difficult to negotiate a communal agreement regarding the sale of land, with the majority of residents believing it should be the choice of the individual to sell or not. Señora Paloma, who works as a cleaner in the Spanish owned hotel, summed up the thoughts of many of the villagers when she explained that the decision should be made by each landowner. She commented, ‘this is for each owner. If they want to sell they can do it. They say that we should not sell and construct ourselves but sometimes we have the need, there is no money, but this depends on each one’.¹²⁸

Discussing the sale of land by members of the community the ex-mayor of Valera explained how he had stressed to residents when tourism had begun in

¹²⁶ Interview with the Mayor of Valera, 20 August 2011 – *Nosotros sabemos que si no preservamos la zona alta, si no evitamos las quemas, Gocta se puede secar de aquí a 30 años. Pero la limitación para la municipalidad es recurso dinero. No hay para poder hacer reforestación arriba, no hay para pagar personas que cuidan, no hay dinero.*

¹²⁷ There are no official figures regarding the sale of land in Cocachimba and the municipality were unclear, largely due to the recent change of government and inefficient record keeping, how much land had been sold. However, information regarding this issue was gathered through interviews with local residents, the representative of MINCETUR and also through observation (i.e. plots of land being marked off or cleared ready for building work to commence).

¹²⁸ Interview 23 with a resident of Cocachimba, 18 May 2011 – *Eso es de cada dueño si ellos quieren vender pueden hacerlo. Nos dicen que no debemos vender y construir nosotros mismos pero a veces tenemos, necesidad, no hay plata, eso depende de cada uno.*

Cocachimba not to sell their land to outside investors, but, to invest themselves in tourism so that they would benefit from it and not others.

When I was mayor, I meet with the community and I told them not not allow investors to come from outside and for people from the area to invest, establish their businesses and improve their houses. That is why the municipality put water and light so that the outside investors will not be the only ones that benefit. I always told them to establish their business and think to invest. But what happened, despite having told them not to sell their land, they did and so appeared hotel Gocta. Now I do not know if they have sold more land, the problem is that those who have the money simply offer it and those who need it accept when they offer good money. The person that sells the land should sell it to people from the same community and not to foreigners.¹²⁹

Inflows of cash into the community can cause disagreements, especially when the distribution of those benefits is unequal. Residents have been led to believe that tourism will benefit everyone in the community equally however, this is not the case. Inevitably, there are some residents who have benefited more than others and some who were in a better position to take advantage of the opportunities created through tourism development. Increased income and employment opportunities have created jealousy and competition among residents, who are constantly wondering why one, has more than the other. The sale of land has further heightened resentment and friction among residents. Discussing this issue, Señora Yuliana pointed out that money had changed the nature of the village. Prior to tourism, money was less important, with the local economy functioning both in monetary terms and in the exchange of goods. However, the introduction of tourism into the village has led to a fundamental change in residents' relationship with money. Commenting on the subject she explained, 'previously the people were a little more generous, not interested in money. Often they gave you the produce they produced on their farms. Actually people have changed a lot because now they do not give you anything if

¹²⁹ Interview with the ex- mayor of Valera, 9 March 2011 – *Cuando yo era alcalde, me reunía con la comunidad y les decía que no permitan que vengan inversionistas de fuera y para la gente de la zona invierta, que pongan sus negocios, que mejoren sus casas. Es por eso la municipalidad ha puesto los servicios de agua y luz para que los inversionistas no son los únicos que se van a beneficiar. Yo siempre les decía que pongan si negocio y que piensen en invertir. Pero que pasó, a pesar de haberles dicho que no vendan sus terrenos, lo hicieron y así apareció el hotel Gocta. Ahora yo no sé si han vendido más terreno, el problema es que quien tiene el dinero simplemente ofrece y el que necesita lo acepta cuando le ofrecen buen dinero. La persona que venda el terreno debe hacerlo a gente de la misma comunidad y no a los extranjeros.*

you do not show them the money’.¹³⁰ With the number of visitors to Gocta increasing every year, tensions are also growing between Cocachimba and San Pablo, who also have a route leading to waterfall. As the capital of the province, many residents feel that tourists should be entering through San Pablo and not Cocachimba to visit the waterfall. Although relations between the two have always been strained they seem to have got worse with the onset of tourism. As Señor Alfonso pointed out, before the arrival of tourism, residents of Cocachimba felt neglected and isolated from municipality’s capital. Recounting this time, he explained that, ‘previously, when tourism had not begun, the people of San Pablo did not want to help Cocachimba and every time they said they were going to put electricity and build a road to Cocachimba but they never did. The village was isolated and the people came here by foot, although there was very few of them’.¹³¹ Although, the regional government is working with San Pablo to improve its tourism infrastructure and services, unless specifically asked by the tourist, all the tours agencies take their tour groups to Cocachimba, where they argue, the community is more organised and provides a better service. Commenting on this issue a representative from MINCETUR Amazonas stated:

It was quite difficult to work with San Pablo because of social reasons. There are many social conflicts there and above all they do not get on well with those from Cocachimba. They are their main competition and they are always arguing about why tourists prefer to go to Cocachimba. When they organised meetings and training those from San Pablo did not attend and there were always many conflicts. So this stopped San Pablo from moving forward.¹³²

¹³⁰ Interview 24 with a resident of Cocachimba, 25 May 2011 – *Anteriormente la gente era un poco ‘mano suelta’, sin interés de dinero. Te invitaban muchas veces las cosas que producían en sus chacras. Actualmente la gente ha cambiado bastante porque ya no te dan nada si no les muestras el dinero.*

¹³¹ Interview 16 with a resident of Cocachimba, May 2011 - *Anteriormente, cuando no se hacía turismo en Cocachimba, la gente de San Pablo no quería apoyar a Cocachimba y cada vez decían que van a poner luz y carretera a Cocachimba pero nunca lo hacían, el pueblito era aislado, la gente venía aquí a pie y muy poco.*

¹³² Interview with a representative from MICENTUR Amazonas, 10 August 2011- *Fue bastante difícil trabajar con San Pablo, por un tema social. Hay muchos conflictos sociales ahí, y sobre todo no se llevan bien con los de Cocachimba. Ellos son su competencia fuerte y siempre han discutido el tema de porque los turistas prefieren ir por Cocachimba. Cuando se organizaban las reuniones y capacitaciones, los de San Pablo no asistían, y siempre había muchos conflictos, entonces esto no ha permitido que se avance con San Pablo.*

There is little doubt that tensions will continue to rise as the demographics of the province begin to change. Traditionally, San Pablo has had the largest population and the mayor has always come from there. However, as the number of residents in Cocachimba starts to increase due its growing economy, this is set to change. In a few years from now, it is highly likely the mayor will come from Cocachimba which could lead to a dramatic change in the political environment of the province.

Land use planning and development are critical in shaping the nature of tourism development. However, there are no development regulations in place to set out certain standards during the construction phase such as building height, aspects of design, linkages to sewage or services disposal, etc. Consequently, by side stepping planning, permits and licences, decisions on the level, pace and nature of tourism development have been taken out of the hands of the community and development is becoming uncontrolled. As Señora Yuliana recalled, ‘when tourism had just started they came here to visit Gocta and they said ‘does anyone want to sell their land? And without knowing some of them said yes. The majority here have sold their land’.¹³³ A large proportion of the land sold is around the plaza and the area leading to Gocta. The lack of regulations and development guidelines will inevitably lead to a clustering of tourism enterprises and related businesses in the hands of outside investors. Local residents are gradually being excluded from tourism activities, unable to compete both in terms of available finance and expertise. Therefore, the question has to be asked how can we talk about sustainable tourism when it is not managed by the people themselves? The high levels of poverty found in this area made Cocachimba extremely vulnerable and susceptible to the negative effects of tourism development. With the focus of the majority on immediate survival, little thought is given to the well-being of future generations. Somewhat understandably, having struggled financially their whole lives, residents have welcomed the opportunity to sell plots of land, often considered wasteland and unusable because of the poor condition of the soil. The economic benefits derived from the sale of land have made the community reluctant to implement a community-based planning approach. Before the arrival of tourism, land in Cocachimba was very cheap and a large plot of land could be purchased for around S/.500 to S/.1000.

¹³³ Interview 15 with a resident of Cocachimba, 15 April 2011 – *Cuando recién se ha iniciado el turismo venían hacer su vista a Gocta y decían ¿alguien quiere vender sus terrenos? Sin saber algunos decían sí. La mayoría acá han vendido su terreno.*

However, in the last few years the price of land has increased dramatically.¹³⁴ Commenting on the increase in the price of land, Señora Elvira pointed out the large profits to be made:

The land for the large hotel sold at S/. 6,000, this was a high price at this time because the land cost S/. 500 or S/. 600. Now this same area of land cost S/. 50,000. Many people are selling their land here in the village but by the waterfall nobody sells because this is community land and it cannot be sold. There are some *limeños* that have bought land that we sold to a nephew for S/. 1,000 and he passed it on to another person for S/. 2,000 and this person sold it to the *limeños* for S/. 30,000.¹³⁵

There are some residents who are starting to become aware of the subsequent consequences of selling land to those from outside the community. Commenting on the current situation in Cocachimba, Señor Alfredo explained how by selling their land, the villagers have put themselves in a position where they are now likely to end up with limited access to tourism resource and little input in tourism development. Residents can no longer afford to buy land in Cocachimba and often those selling, prefer to sell to outsiders rather than locals, knowing they will get a higher price. Expressing his point of view on the situation, Señor Alfredo remarked:

What happened is instead of repairing their house, extending it with the time, they sold their land; for them it is the love of money. This harms the village also because, for example, myself, owning land, I make an effort to construct my house or a hostel and this will serve me for something but here they do not know to think like this and as they have their land and they want money, they sell their land to outsiders and also the outsiders, so that they sell them the land they pretend to be nice but once it is sold one knows that they behaved badly and this goes against the village. It is their fault for selling and you cannot do anything, one cannot be fighting. I tell you that with time, when the population increases more and more with outsiders, from there they are going to have more problems. It will be that they, with their lots of money, will come, will build and will put their hostels and restaurants and the same people from Cocachimba will be left out because of

¹³⁴ Land is currently being sold for around S/.25 per square metre.

¹³⁵ Interview 28 with a resident of Cocachimba, 8 June 2011 – *Ese terreno para el hotel grande se ha vendido a S/.6, 000, ese era un costo alto en esa época porque los terrenos costaban S/. 500 o S/. 600. Ahora ese misma área de terreno cuesta S/. 50,000. Mucha gente está vendiendo su terreno aquí en el pueblo pero por la catarata nadie vende porque es terreno de la comunidad no se puede vender. Hay unos limeños que han comprado un terreno que nosotros lo vendimos a un sobrino a S/. 1,000 y él lo paso a otra a S/. 2,000 y esta persona lo ha vendido a los limeños a S/. 30, 000.*

not knowing how to think. The price of land has increased. When one from here wants to buy, they see that the plots of land are expensive and here sometimes, the people from the countryside cannot pay the price that they want. Others they come and they pay this price. We are country people and one does not have this money but people from outside pay this. They like the money and for them it is good to see the money but well the money runs out and with time you are the expense of the foreigners who come. In time this is going to be a problem because they come, they build their hostel, their restaurant so that the same village will have no tourism resources.¹³⁶

The sale of land to those from outside the community is reinforcing the unequal patterns and structures of international tourism rather than diminishing socio-economic inequalities. Locals are increasingly finding themselves in competition with investors who have international experience and the means to construct tourism facilities to a standard that is based on a familiarity provided in western countries. As the representative of MINCENTUR pointed out:

In Cocachimba they have sold land and more outsiders are going to come. This is very unfortunate because the people have a lot to learn. The people that come from outside have better vision, they have better management and they have better service. The client is not going to look for social inclusion or fair tourism; simply they opt for the one that offers the best service. Well let's hope the people do not end up like in Cusco, looking at what the others do when they should be the one that manage it.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Interview 16 with a resident of Cocachimba, 4 May 2011 – *Lo que pasa es que en vez de arreglar su casa, ampliar la con el tiempo, para ellos se amor a la plata y su terreno lo venden, eso perjudica al pueblo también ya porque, por ejemplo, yo teniendo mi terreno hago un esfuerzo para construir mi casita o un hospedaje y eso ya me sirve de algo pero acá no saben pensar eso y ya como tienen su terreno y quieren la plata lo venden su terreno a gente forastera y también la gente forastera para venderles ellos se hacen los chicos pero una vez vendidos se sabe que se portan mal y ya eso va contra el pueblo. Tienen la culpa por vender y ya no puedes hacer nada, no se puede estar peleando. Te digo que con el tiempo, ya cuando más y más crece la población con gente forastera, ahí si van haber problemas. Será que ellos con su buenas platas, van a venir, van a construir, van a poner sus hospedajes y sus restaurantes y la gente misma de Cocachimba se quedará fuera porque no saber pensar. Los precios de los terrenos han subido. Cuando uno de acá quiere comprar se ve que están caros los terrenos y a veces acá la gente de campo no se puede pagar el precio que ellos quieren. Otros vienen y pagan ese precio. Somos gente de campo no se tiene ese dinero pero la gente de afuera paga eso y a ellos les gusta les gusta el dinero y les parece bien ver la plata pero que pues la plata se acaba y con el tiempo estas a expensas de los forasteros que vienen. Con el tiempo ese va ser un problema porque ellos vienen construyen su hospedaje, su restaurante y de manera que el mismo pueblo ya no tendrá recursos del turismo.*

¹³⁷ Interview with a representative from MICENTUR Amazonas, 10 August 2011 – *En Cocachimba han vendido terrenos y va a venir más gente de fuera. Esto es muy lamentable porque l gente le falta mucho para aprender. La gente que viene de fuera tiene mejor visión, tiene mejor manejo y tiene mejor servicio. El cliente que no va a buscando la inclusión social y turismo justo; simplemente optan*

Residents are starting to become concerned with the sale of land and feel that soon outsiders will start to dominate, in particular the accommodation and food sectors. However, later this influence could expand to the tour sector which currently has a high level of local participation. Expressing his concern, Señor Joaquín commented:

With the time the immigrants are going to be like kings and they are going to be the beneficiaries. When those for A or B motive sell their land what can we tell them, if it is their property one cannot do anything. I worry enormously about this but what can we do when they sell things, there we cannot meddle. Sometimes they are a little selfish because they think of themselves and not the community. There are people that have bought land but still have not built but many people have sold. Soon we will see new constructions.¹³⁸

The increasing level of outside ownership and the diminishing level of control residents have over tourism development in Cocachimba will place it in a vulnerable market position. Its appeal lies in its remoteness and authenticity. However, with the influence of outside forces, there is the chance that the experience of visiting Gocta could become standardised, which in turn, would leave it open to being substituted for another destination in the future by foreign companies. In the next few years Cocachimba is set to experience more change as tourism is forecast to increase in the area. With the sale of land, more outsiders, both national and international, will become involved in the tourism industry and the residents will experience a decline in benefits. With the price of land increasing as well as demand it seems highly likely that residents will be pushed out of the centre of the village and towards the outskirts or into neighbouring villages.

Tourism Production in Cocachimba and the Principles of Sustainable Development

Although tourism has proven to be an effective means of economic development, its economic success masks its failure to meet the fundamental principles of sustainable

por el que ofrece mejor servicio. Ojala la gente no termine como en Cusco, mirando lo que otros hacen cuando ellos deberían ser los que manejan.

¹³⁸ Interview 30 with a resident of Cocachimba, 1 June 2011 – *Con el tiempo los inmigrantes van a estar como reyes y ellos van a ser los beneficiados pero cuando ellos por A o B motivo lo venden sus terrenos que les podemos ya decir, si es su propiedad no se puede hacer nada. Preocupa de sobremanera eso pero que podemos hacer cuando ellos venden sus cosas, ahí no nos podemos meter. A veces son un poco egoístas porque piensan en ellos y no la comunidad. Hay personas que han comprado su terreno pero que todavía no construyen pero mucha gente ha vendido. Ya veremos pronto nuevas construcciones.*

development. The economic benefits derived from tourism have undoubtedly helped to strengthen the local economy of Cocachimba and the Amazonas region. However, an analysis of tourism in Cocachimba has revealed that as it progresses through the various stages of its life cycle it moves further away from the principles of sustainable tourism. In addition, short-term economic gain has been achieved at the expense of long-term sustainability. The increasing dependence on tourism in Cocachimba compromises both its future economic and environmental sustainability as it comes to dominate, leaving little space for any alternative. The principles of sustainable tourism discussed in chapter 4 are briefly analysed below, demonstrating how the production of tourism in Cocachimba does not confirm to the majority of these values.

Consideration of the environment should take president over the development of tourism; a long term approach should be adapted over a short term and natural, social and cultural resources should be used in a sustainable manner in order to secure the future of generations to come.

The nature and scale of tourism has meant that increased pressure is being place on both natural and human resources in the area. Residents are aware of the need for environmental protection. However, the importance of looking after the environment is linked to, and associated with, ensuring the continued flow of tourists. There are currently no limits in place on the number of visitors to Gocta or procedures to ensure that Cocachimba does not exceed its carrying capacity. As numbers are set to increase there are concerns over the negative environmental impacts of tourism on the cloud forests which surround the waterfall and local fauna and flora. Currently, the potential for economic growth has tended to override the detrimental and social consequences to the community and environmental concerns remain subordinate to meeting subsistence needs. The rising numbers of visitors to Cocachimba has led to a significant rise in waste. There needs to be a coordinated effort between the community and the municipality to find a sustainable solution to waste management. Waste separation, waste reduction, reuse, recycling and composting must be encouraged and measures implemented to facilitate these avenues of waste management. Environmental sustainability and resource management is essential to achieving long-term sustainable development.

Tourism development must be slow and controlled in order to be absorbed into the host environment at a manageable level. Tourism planning and development should therefore be integrated into local and national development strategies.

The absence of an integrated planning approach has allowed residents to sell land to investors from outside the community. Land leading to the waterfall or which has a clear view of Gocta has already been sold and in some cases construction has begun. Private ownership of land in Cocachimba and the area surrounding the waterfall makes it difficult to negotiate a communal agreement regarding the sale of land. However, land use planning and development are critical in shaping the nature of tourism development. Left unaddressed tourism will undoubtedly develop in a non-sustainable manner and will place inter and intra-generation equity in jeopardy. It will also lead to a clustering of tourism enterprises and related businesses in the hands of outside investors who have little interest in developing tourism in a manner that is considerate to the socio-economic and cultural conditions of the host destination and incorporates the community into the decision-making process. The sale of land without any regulations in place has meant that development is gradually becoming uncontrolled and is contributing to the loss of control over the tourism development process by communities whilst simultaneously pushing up the cost of land and living in Cocachimba.

Tourism should complement other economic activities in host destinations rather than replace or displace them, acting as a means of diversifying the local economy. It is crucial that a balance is sought between tourism and other economic activities which are all using the same resource.

Tourism is being heavily promoted as the catalyst for achieving economic growth in Cocachimba by the local community and regional government. Despite efforts to develop it within a sustainable framework, tourism is set to become the dominant economic activity in Cocachimba. As the popularity of Cocachimba as a tourist destination increases, tourism is beginning to take over agriculture as the main economic activity. Fewer fields are being planted every year as residents either split their time between the both activities or concentrate on tourism. Additional pressure

is being placed on resources as all sectors of the local economy compete for a share. Land is the main issue in Cocachimba and plots which were previously used for farming are either being sold or used for tourism purposes. Given the difficult agricultural conditions of Cocachimba, tourism is viewed as the means of driving economic growth, creating employment opportunities and providing backward linkages. Since the arrival of tourism, little effort has been made by both the community and the regional government to explore other potential avenues for economic growth, such as the export of cherimoya fruit.

Decision making should be in the hands of the host community. Community participation should be promoted as a channel for integrating local communities into decision-making processes and encouraging local people to participate in their own development.

Participation of the host community in tourism development and its role in the decision-making process has become an integral part of the sustainability paradigm. Greater participation is seen as key to increasing the numbers of people who can potentially benefit from tourism. Participation in decision-making is centred on community members determining their own goals for development and having a meaningful voice in the organisation and administration of tourism development. Given that tourist numbers remain relatively small, decision-making is largely in the hands of the community of Cocachimba. Through the locally established tourism association, residents are able to make decisions regarding the future of tourism development, whilst involving the community as a whole in the process. Regular meetings allow residents to voice their opinion and concern over tourism development. However, as land is sold, 'outsiders' are coming into the village, often providing skill sets and financial means that residents do not have to develop tourism further. Unable to compete, residents are being pushed to the fringes of the planning and development process.

There should be coordination between the tourism sector, local authorities and environmental agencies to ensure the negative impacts of tourism on the host community and the environment are minimal. Coordination between the various

agencies would also minimise the occurrence of parallel or duplicate development projects and allow for funds to be divided and allocated for other purposes.

Residents are coordinating with local authorities, NGOs and local tour operators to try to organise and educate the community, improve facilities, resources and products. The national and regional governments have been responsible for implementing the National Programme for Rural Community Tourism in Cocachimba. Advocating the conservation and sustainable use of natural resources in the management of tourism development, the programme is designed to encourage the participation of local families as providers of tourism services and in the decision-making process. The sudden interest in Cocachimba and Gocta has led to a number of NGOs working in the small community. In recent years, three well-known NGOs have all undertaken projects in the village in addition to the regional and national government. Yet, despite there being a number of agencies present in Cocachimba, there is little cooperation between the regional government, the local municipality, the community and NGOs. Although each has its own agenda many of the objectives appear to be similar. As a result, projects are often duplicated and do not benefit from full cooperation between local and tourism planners. The lack of coordination decreases potential opportunities for community involvement in the tourism development process. State involvement in tourism planning is needed to ensure that tourism development is integrated with the broader economic and social needs of the host community and that tourism development projects are sympathetic with local cultures and natural environments.

There needs to be a balance between the needs of the host community, the visitor and the local environment. All parties should be educated and aware of the need for more sustainable forms of tourism.

The need for more sustainable forms of tourism development is acknowledged by the national government and recognised at planning level in the form of the National Tourism Strategic Plan. However, the government needs implement education and awareness building initiatives to increase host communities knowledge of sustainable forms of tourism. As visitor numbers increase every year, there is a failure to put the development needs and interests of the community before those of the tourism sector

itself. Cocachimba has concentrated its efforts on the sustainability of its tourism product rather than the sustainable development of the community through tourism. The measures implemented are designed to preserve its natural, built and socio-cultural resource base for the purpose of developing and maintaining the tourism product. Short-term financial gain through the rapid and uncontrolled development of tourist facilities is being put before the consideration of the long-term use of resources and the impact of tourism development on the residents of Cocachimba.

The potential benefits of tourism should be recognised and viewed as a tool for development, not as an end in itself.

All hope for future economic growth in Cocachimba is linked to the continued development of tourism, both within the village and the region. As a result little attention is being paid to exploring other potential avenues for economic growth.

Given that tourism is highly precarious, it should be viewed as an alternative/additional income, used to complement other economic activities in host destinations rather than replace or displace them and as a means of diversifying the local economy, rather than as the village's main economic source. Cocachimba needs to develop alternative economic avenues so that should the flow of tourists be interrupted or stopped for whatever reason (end of its tourism life cycle, war, economic crisis, etc.) the village has other economic means of survival.

Overall, then, tourism development in Cocachimba confirms the theoretical position of this thesis. Using the case study conclusions can be drawn that (i) the principles of sustainable development cannot be successfully applied to tourism as a specific economic and social activity and (ii) the principles of sustainable tourism development cannot be adhered to at micro level. It is a variety of both endogenous and exogenous factors which prevent the development of tourism being managed in a sustainable manner. These include inadequate tourism planning and policy, a lack of local investment in tourism, insufficient capacity building for host communities and little monitoring and evaluation of tourism development by local and regional governments, and the strong position of major tour operators to control the consumption of tourism products and services as well the promotion and marketing of a destination.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Introduction

Over the last six decades, tourism has experienced continued expansion and diversification becoming one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the world. International and domestic tourism has intensified in most developed and newly industrialised countries in the last 30 years, becoming an important economic sector in terms of income generation, foreign exchange earnings and employment creation. Tourism's position as a world-wide economic force was cemented when tourist arrivals reached one billion in December 2012. To mark this milestone, the United Nations World Travel Organisation launched its 'one billion tourists: one billion opportunities' campaign to persuade tourists that by respecting local culture, preserving heritage or buying local goods, they could make a big difference to the people and places they visit. The UNWTO forecasts that between 2010 and 2030, arrivals in emerging destinations (+4.4 per cent a year) are expected to increase at double the pace of that in advanced economies (+2.2 per cent a year). The number of international tourist arrivals worldwide is expected to increase by an average 3.3 per cent a year between 2010 and 2030 and reach 1.8 billion in 2030 (UNWTO, 2013: 3).

As an internationally traded service, inbound tourism has become one of the world's major trade categories. The overall export income generated by inbound tourism totalled US\$ 1.2 trillion or an average US\$3.4 billion a day. With tourism estimated to account for five per cent of worldwide gross domestic product in 2012, it is little wonder that an increasing number of destinations have opened up and invested in tourism development. Awareness regarding sustainability issues in tourism has developed significantly since the emergence of the sustainable development paradigm in the 1980s which coincided with the rapid growth of the sector. Given tourism's potential to play a significant role in sustainable development, its promotion has been widely supported by international multilateral organisations and governments throughout the world. Today, most practitioners recognise that without sustainability, there cannot be development that generates benefits for all stakeholders, advocates equitable access to and the sustainable use of

natural resources, considers intra and inter-generational equity, promotes self-reliance and fundamentally addresses poverty reduction.

Conclusions of the Study

Sustainable development's popularity lies in its ability to appeal to both environmentalists, through emphasising sustainability, and to developers, by stressing the development aspect of the paradigm (O'Riordan, 1988). It is now generally accepted that sustainable development is necessary as a means of addressing the pressures placed on the global ecosystem that threaten the social, economic and ecological balance. There is a general acceptance among scholars and practitioners alike that a positive relationship exists between tourism and sustainable development. The general acceptance of this assumption has led very few (Garrod and Fyall, 1998; Sharpley, 2000; and Lui, 2003) to take a critical approach towards sustainable tourism development. The main focus of this dissertation has been, therefore, to assess the validity of sustainable tourism as a development model. More specifically, it aimed to contest the notion that its principles could be successfully applied at micro level. Assuming the position that the concept should reflect and embrace the principles and objectives of sustainable development, the thesis has demonstrated that sustainable tourism development on a micro level is just as unattainable as it is on a macro level. Using a case study, it was established that as a destination passes through the various stages of tourism development it moves further away from the principles of sustainable development and consequently contributes little to the overall development of the community. Based on this premise, a sustainable tourism development cycle model (STDC) was developed, which mapped the various stages of tourism evolution in correlation with the principles of sustainable tourism development. In doing this, a link was formed between the principles and practices of sustainable tourism development and a destination's area life cycle and thereby, provided a framework for the analysis of sustainable tourism development. Furthermore, a number of areas in which tourism departs from the principles of sustainable development were identified, which consequently support my argument that sustainable tourism development is unattainable. In particular, the characteristics of tourism production and consumption act as a barrier towards achieving sustainability. A variety of both endogenous and exogenous factors prevent the development of tourism being managed in a

sustainable manner. These include inadequate tourism planning and policy, a lack of local investment in tourism, insufficient capacity building for host communities and little monitoring and evaluation of tourism development by local and regional governments and the strong position of major tour operators to control the consumption of tourism products and services as well the promotion and marketing of a destination. This position was confirmed by the case study of tourism development undertaken in Cocachimba, Peru.

With its well established tourism industry, Peru was a suitable country in which to conduct the case study. One of the most ecologically diverse countries in the world, Peru has embraced cultural and nature-based tourism, offering a wide range of distinctive natural, cultural and historic attractions. The arrival of tourism in Cocachimba in 2006 following the publicisation of the waterfall, Gocta as one of the world's major waterfalls by the German engineer Stefan Ziemendorff, placed a previously forgotten small rural village on the map and propelled it into the international tourism market. Embracing the sustainable tourism mantle, the local, regional and national governments were keen for tourism development in Cocachimba to be seen in a sustainable light. Using a 'bottom up' approach, the discourse of sustainable tourism promotes the idea of maximising the potential of tourism by devising appropriate strategies in cooperation with all major groups and local communities. With an emphasis on community participation, this development strategy seeks to enhance local involvement while promoting economic, social and cultural well-being. Given that development is often the main goal or justification for developing or pursuing tourism, questioning the principles and validity of sustainable tourism as a development model is therefore, an important issue to address.

The evidence presented in the case study supports the theoretical position that as a destination passes through the various stages of tourism development it moves further away from the principles of sustainable development and consequently fails to meet the fundamental principles of the concept. Many of the factors identified in the case of Cocachimba, which work against sustainable tourism development, are likely to occur in most destinations around the world, although the extent may vary. Even at community level, sustainable production, consumption and equitable distribution are difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. In consequence, sustainable tourism cannot be regarded as a micro solution to a macro problem. The issues traditionally associated with large-scale tourism are still very much present in

localised/small-scale developments, albeit to a slightly lesser extent. Even on a micro scale, relatively few people benefit from tourism, especially in developing countries where the social and economic situation creates a greater need for the community to participate.

In analysing the principles of sustainable tourism development, the thesis argued that at face value tourism appears to be an effective tool for development, acting as an agent for economic growth and socioeconomic advancement. In theory, tourism-related development embraces the broader principles of sustainable growth in that it advocates the sustainable use of and equitable access to natural resources, along with expansion while being respectful of environmental and socio-cultural capacities, in order to allow for future economic growth. Endogenous development and self-reliance are encouraged through community participation, whilst the holistic approach takes into consideration all those involved in tourism as an activity. However, in spite of this potential, the scale and scope of international tourism as an economic activity and in its exploitation of natural resources, makes it extremely difficult for the sector to fulfil these objectives. More often than not, as in the case of Cocachimba, short-term economic gain is achieved at the expense of long-term sustainability.

Despite advocating a holistic perspective in which sustainable development is considered within a global political and socio-economic context, tourism strategies are inclined to be inward and product centred, with little emphasis placed on wider integration into national and local planning. This has resulted in an overdependence on tourism as an economic activity, which instead of complementing other sectors in host destinations and acting as a means of diversifying the local economy, has tended to replace or displace them. In the case of Cocachimba, rural tourism has become an important aspect of the village's social and economic development. Located in a region which has been neglected for centuries by the national government due to its inaccessibility and large distance from the capital, residents of Cocachimba have suffered from extreme poverty and hardship. Gocta waterfall has provided Cocachimba with a distinctive natural attraction which has great appeal to tourists. Tourism has not only provided the community with an additional means of income but has become an attractive tool for regional development in the department of Amazonas. In consequence of the publicisation of the waterfall and the subsequent arrival of tourists, Cocachimba was identified by MINCETUR as one of the potential

areas for rural tourism and has been working in cooperation with the regional government (DIRCETUR) to promote sustainable tourism as a tool for socio-economic development in the region. Despite interest by regional and national agencies, the strategy for tourism development in Cocachimba has focused primarily on developing tourism in the area, little emphasis placed on wider integration of tourism into national and local development policies. With tourism becoming increasingly important to Cocachimba, the need to manage and develop it in a sustainable manner is of primary concern. The welfare of future generations depends on the present generation's prudent use and protection of these resources.

Given the few opportunities for economic diversification away from agriculture it seemed inevitable that the local economy would become increasingly dependent on tourism. In a region which already suffered from poor soil quality, agricultural production in Cocachimba has felt the brutal effects of climate change and the weather phenomenon El Niño. Significant changes to the seasons have led to sporadic extreme weather conditions and as a result tourism has become even more important to the villagers' survival strategies. The tourism sector, as one of the few cash-generating activities in the areas, is an increasingly important source of employment for the village. The lure of increased employment and a larger income has led the village to increasingly focus on the development of tourism and move away from the more traditional economic activity of farming.

With the increasingly difficult conditions for agricultural production in Cocachimba, tourism is viewed by both residents and the local and regional government as the means of driving economic growth in the village and the surrounding area, creating employment opportunities and providing backward linkages. With high poverty levels, the recent arrival of tourism has been viewed as a beacon of hope for the village. Prior to the arrival of tourism in 2006, Cocachimba had altered very little since its foundation at the turn of the last century. For many years the lack of an accessible road left the village isolated, visited only by relatives and the citizens of surrounding villages. The first road was only completed in 2007, followed by the first electrical power line in 2008, after the 'discovery' of Gocta. Since the arrival of tourism, little effort has been made by both the community and the regional government to explore other potential avenues for economic growth, such as the export of cherimoya fruit. Although tourism is proving to be an effective vehicle for economic development and undoubtedly contributing to a more

comfortable existence for the local community, attempts to adhere to sustainable principles are proving less successful. The increasing dependence on tourism in Cocachimba compromises both its future economic and environmental sustainability as it comes to dominate, leaving little space for any alternative. This growing reliance of the local economy on tourism increases its vulnerability to the seasonal aspects of tourism and to shock such as natural disasters and economic downturn. In addition, sudden changes in consumers' tastes pose significant risk to an economy dependant on tourism for its survival.

The illusion still exists that tourism development can occur whilst simultaneously preserving natural resources. In reality however, there is very little chance that tourism can operate without reducing the quality or quantity of natural resources. Cocachimba, like many other host communities around the world, has been able to successfully exploit its natural resources, which have been recast as natural capital, transformed into a product and sold to the open consumer market in order to optimise its potential as a tourist destination. Following notions of its parental paradigm, sustainable tourism development should not only increase the economic welfare of the host destination but also simultaneously promote social and environmental responsibility. However, operationalising sustainability depends upon the community's ability and willingness to minimise resource depletion and environmental degradation.

The development of tourism in Cocachimba has placed increasing pressure on both the natural and human resources in the area. The rising numbers of visitors to Cocachimba each year has led to a significant rise in refuse. Owing to the lack of proper policy and management strategies in place, residents have become responsible for tourism waste and left with the dilemma of what to do with it. Rubbish is becoming an increasing problem, in particular plastic bottles, as tourists leave their litter behind or throw it away on the long trek to the waterfall. Waste is currently separated and then either recycled, and/or buried or burnt outside the village. Although the community has set up a waste management programme, with waste productions set to increase substantially in the next few years due to the construction of a number of hotels and the expected rise in visitor numbers, it seems unlikely that the community will be able to continue to manage waste in this manner, especially considering the municipality's plans to open a landfill site.

Although tourism has undoubtedly contributed to a shift in the attitudes of local residents towards the environment, leading to the implementation of some measures to combat hunting and protect the forests, the importance of conserving the environment was linked to, and, associated with ensuring the continued flow of tourists to Cocachimba. Cocachimba's tourism resource base is centred on its natural landscape. Therefore, the protection of the waterfall, cloud forests, fauna and flower found in the area are paramount to its survival as a tourist destination. With tourism now a prominent part of life in Cocachimba, most notably in the summer, the hunting and killing of animals, the picking of wild flowers and logging have been prohibited in the area surrounding Gocta. However, those with no vested interests in tourism had little or no interest in following regulations put in place by the Community Tourism Association of Cocachimba. Wildfires in the cloud forests surrounding Gocta still occur on a regular basis. Fires started by farmers to clear land and burn items, quickly spread, destroying large areas of forests and leaving a thick layer of smoke. The seasonal nature of tourism and its vulnerability to external events such as global recessions means that earnings generated are subject to dramatic fluctuations, making it difficult for local people to sustain an income from tourism all year around. The increase in the number of stakeholders further limits the benefits received by residents, forcing local people to search for alternative sources of income. For those living in a rural setting like Cocachimba, the local environment and its natural resources offer one of the few means available to them to substitute their income. When tourism income is down, meeting subsistence needs takes precedence over environmental conservation.

In addition to its role as an agent for economic growth, tourism is considered to offer an effective means of attaining a more equitable society on a global scale by advocating both intra- and inter-generational equity, adopting policies which emphasise the equitable use and share of natural resources, benefits and opportunities and, through the promotion of community participation and collaborative planning. Despite such claims, the reality is that the structure of international tourism tends to exacerbate inequalities as the benefits of tourism are not equally distributed and there tends to be a small number of beneficiaries. The case study showed that control over resources is difficult to maintain as tourism is developed because environmental concerns remain subordinate to meeting the subsistence needs of the host community. The commodification of the environment and nature through tourism

and the monetary value now attached to resources previously considered to be non-market goods encourages tourism to develop in such a way that concern for sustainability of the tourism product itself is more important than achieving sustainable development through tourism. This was particularly evident through the sale of land by residents of Cocachimba to buyers often from outside the village. The sustainable future of Cocachimba depends on the careful management of its resources to ensure their availability for present and future generations. Private ownership of land in Cocachimba and the area surrounding the waterfall makes it difficult to negotiate a communal agreement regarding the sale of land, with the majority of residents believing it should be the choice of the individual to sell or not. This has consequently created conflict between the private interests of the individual and the collective interests of the community. Land use planning and development are critical in shaping the nature of tourism development. However, there are currently no development regulations in place in Cocachimba to set out certain standards. Consequently, by side stepping planning, permits and licences, decisions on the level, pace and nature of tourism development have been taken out of the hands of the community and development is becoming uncontrolled. Simultaneously, tourism is pushing up the cost of land and living in Cocachimba, with investors from outside the village prepared to pay more. The lack of regulations and development guidelines will inevitably lead to a clustering of tourism enterprises and related businesses in the hands of outside investors. Local residents are gradually being excluded from tourism activities, unable to compete both in terms of available finance and expertise.

In the case of Cocachimba, the local and regional government need to ensure effective coordination between stakeholders and engage all relevant parties in the formation and implementation of strategies and policies which encourage sustainable practices. Their input is crucial as they are responsible for many of the functions that are fundamental in ensuring the sustainable development of tourism. It is their responsibility to address issues concerning land planning, labour and environmental regulation and the provision of infrastructure and social and environmental services. Policies and regulations need to be put in place and firmly enforced by the government at local, regional and national level to prevent uncontrolled development and set out certain standards to be met during the construction phase. The issue of planning permission and permits would undoubtedly help with this.

Key to the concept of sustainable tourism development is the idea of devising appropriate strategies in cooperation with all major groups and local communities, wherein locally defined development goals are placed at the centre of tourism planning. It is widely recognised that the impacts of tourism are most apparent at the level of the destination community. Although tourism may provide communities with an opportunity to increase their income, the majority only retain a small proportion of the benefits which are unequally distributed. For communities such as Cocachimba, community participation in the development of tourism and the decision-making process is crucial to combat regional or foreign domination and to retain benefits within the community itself. The Tourism Association of Cocachimba acts as the main channel for residents to participate in the development of tourism. Since its formation the tourism association has played a key role in uniting the community, serving as a platform to share ideas and information regarding the economic, social and environmental betterment of the village. The Association has no strategic plan for tourism development or a clear set of goals for the future. This lack of coherence and transparency on future plans has led to some disagreement and discontent in the village on how best to spend the revenues generated from tourism. The Tourism Association has given little thought to its future and not considered fully the impact new investors will have on the village. With no plans to incorporate these investors into the Association it is unsure if it will survive as the shareholder base increases and broadens. Unless measures, such as compulsory membership for all new investors, are implemented now, the association will have little control over tourism development and in all likelihood its benefits will bypass the community.

Despite its rhetoric, the notion of community participation does not point towards all citizens being equally involved in the decision-making process on all issues and receiving equal benefits. Inflows of cash into the community can cause disagreements, especially when the distribution of those benefits is unequal. Residents have been led to believe that tourism will benefit everyone in the community equally. However, this is not the case. Inevitably, there are some residents who have benefitted more than others and some who were in a better position to take advantage of the opportunities created through tourism development. Increased income and employment opportunities have created jealousy and competition among residents, who are constantly wondering why one has more than the other. The sale of land has further heightened resentment and friction among

residents. Prior to tourism, money was less important, with the local economy functioning both in monetary terms and in the exchange of goods. However, the introduction of tourism into the village has led to a fundamental change in residents' relationship with money.

The challenge facing Cocachimba is to ensure that control of tourism development stays in the hands of the community; however this seems unlikely bearing in mind the aforementioned points. Although sustainable tourism development as a goal is difficult, if not impossible to achieve, its principles offer a framework through which destination areas can improve the manner in which tourism is developed. Currently, Cocachimba has no clear agenda in place that incorporates the principles of sustainable tourism. Therefore, the community need to develop an agenda which ensures that (i) the conditions are right for tourism to continue as a socio-economic activity in the future and (ii) considers the ability of the local community and environment to absorb and benefit from the impacts of tourism in a sustainable manner.

Overall, the evidence presented in the case study demonstrates that (i) even at micro level there is a clear failure to put the developmental needs and interests of the host community before those of the tourism sector; (ii) it is extremely difficult to apply the principles of sustainable development to tourism as a specific economic and social activity and (iii) the issues surrounding sustainable development and sustainable tourism development are intrinsically inter-related and extremely complex.

Considering these points, it can be concluded that sustainable tourism development is extremely difficult, if not impossible to apply at the micro level. Although this statement may indicate a pessimistic future for the communities and environments in which tourism operates, this is not entirely the case. Increasing numbers of individuals and societies are benefiting from the economic contribution of tourism and it is helping to provide broader economic and social development. In the case of Cocachimba, tourism is making a significant contribution to the development of both the village and the region. With some exceptions tourism has been welcomed by residents and although some raised concerns regarding particular issues, there was a largely positive attitude towards it. What is for certain is that the majority of residents would prefer to live with tourism then without it. What concerns residents the most is the way the tourism sector is managed and controlled

and the effect outside investors will have on the community. Most residents' readily admit that the community has made a grave mistake selling of such large amounts of land to people and investors they know nothing about. However, all they can do now is brace themselves and wait to see what happens in the coming years.

The concept of sustainable tourism suffers from a number of weaknesses and contradictions that raise serious questions regarding the viability of the concept. Central to the sustainable development debate is the relationship between economic growth, social equity and environmental sustainability. Sustainable tourism requires a balance between these three dimensions in order to guarantee long-term sustainability. However, reaching equilibrium appears to be an impossible task as one parameter always takes precedence over the others. There are some who argue that development objectives should be subordinate to the protection of the environment and natural resources. On the other hand, there are others, who believe that development should take precedence over the environment and that economic growth, albeit with environmental parameters, is fundamental to the advancement of societies. Often there are no solutions to the dilemmas presented but rather choices regarding various alternatives, all of which have advantages and disadvantages. Evidence from the case study suggests that economic growth has provided the platform for the subsequent social and economic development but not for the achievement of environmental objectives. The underlying line is that sustainable tourism cannot occur whilst simultaneously preserving natural resources.

In addition to examining the discrepancies and contradictions of the concept, the thesis also formed a link between the principles and practices of sustainable tourism development and a destination area 'life cycle', thereby; providing a framework for its analysis. Butler's (1980) tourism area's life cycle (TALC) formed the basis of the model. Regardless of whether tourism is on a macro or micro scale, host destinations pass through a number of identifiable stages during its evolution; therefore, it provided a practical means for examining the implementation of sustainable practices. The sustainable development cycle model was split into five stages which corresponded to certain stages of a destination's area life cycle, as set out in chapter 3. Butler posits that every destination has a limit to its growth, with host destinations passing through a number of stages before arriving at the point of stagnation, indicating that its limit has been reached. According to Butler's model,

tourist destinations follow the following identifiable stages; exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation.

The sustainable tourism development cycle model (STDC) evaluated the ability of a destination area to adhere to the principles of sustainable tourism development as it passes through the various stages of its life cycle. The case study of Cocachimba outlined in chapters 4, 5 and 6 verified this position and concluded that instead of pursuing the overarching principles of sustainable development, it actually moves further away from them. Consequently, the ability of tourism as an activity in the future is compromised, as is the capacity of the host community and its environment to absorb the impacts of tourism in a sustainable manner.

The case study found that during the first stage of the cycle, the destination area was more able to adhere closely to the principles of sustainable development. With a small number of visitors to the destination, tourism development was slow and controlled during this period and into the next stage. With few stakeholders and investors from outside the host community involved, linkages were localised, with decision-making in the hands of the community. With the destination area still relatively unknown during this period, the basic services needed to accommodate tourists were provided by the local community and residents were able to benefit economically from tourism, which acted as a catalyst for further tourism development in the village.

It was during the second stage that basic infrastructural development occurred. In the case of Cocachimba, the village was provided with a more accessible access route and electricity. Some residential homes were renovated or converted into small hostels or restaurants, earning revenue for local residents. There was a high level of local community involvement, as residents provided basic services to tourists, offering food, accommodation and guiding services. Visitor numbers began to increase as the destination became better known both within the country and internationally. There was a good level of coordination between the local community, local authorities, NGOs and the tourism sector during this stage, which resulted in the formation of the Tourism Association and capacity building for residents. Importantly, tourism provided an additional income rather than being the dominant economic activity of the local economy during this period. Awareness was also raised regarding the protection of the local environment and the community

introduced a number of measures to stop hunting, logging and help prevent wildfires from occurring in the forests surrounding Gocta.

Furthermore, the case study revealed that it was during the third stage that the destination area began to move away from the principles of sustainability. The sale of land to investors from outside the community has led to a decline in benefits for local residents who are now facing an increasing amount of competition over the provision of tourist services. As a consequence of the construction of hotels by foreign investors and *limeños*, income has begun to leak out of the community. As Cocachimba becomes more popular, foreign investors are beginning to invest heavily in the area establishing their own operations on a larger scale than the locals, pushing residents further out of the planning and development process. However, as more stakeholders become involved, expansion is set to become uncontrolled. Buildings are being constructed without planning regulations in place in order to meet growing demand. At this stage, tourism becomes the dominant economic activity and instead of acting as a means of diversifying the local economy, it starts to displace other more traditional economic activities, such as agriculture. There is very little coordination between the main stakeholders and capacity building is no longer viewed as a priority by the local and regional governments.

Although Cocachimba has not yet reached the fourth stage of the cycle, research indicates that the following will occur. As it approaches the fourth stage, community participation will be at a low point. Most hotel and restaurant owners will be from outside the local community. As a consequence of the promotion of international tourism by large hotel and tour companies, money will flow out and profits will stay in the countries of origin. Given their market connections and control over tourism flows, they will have an overwhelmingly competitive advantage over local tourism operators. There is no coordination between the main stakeholders as each pursues its own individual agenda. The rapid construction of hotels in the area and the influx of people will cause degradation of the local environment. Resources under the control of the tourism sector are exploited and consumed at a high rate, leading to a permanent change in the local environment. Dramatic changes to their local environment tends to lead to disputes between the local community and the tourism sector, both competing for access to natural resources, and may also lead to resentment against tourists by residents. Generally, by the fifth stage, the degradation of the environment has led to a decrease in the volume of tourism,

prompting calls for action by investors and the tourism sector. Decisions are made by the main stakeholders about whether to withdraw or remain in the area. With the local economy dependent on tourism, the decision of these key players will fundamentally affect the local community and further decisions will need to be made regarding its future.

Although it would appear that sustainable tourism development has the potential at micro level to succeed as communities have a greater opportunity to take control over the development of tourism, exogenous and endogenous factors make it difficult for those very communities to maintain control. These include inadequate tourism planning and policy, a lack of local investment in tourism, insufficient capacity building for host communities and little monitoring and evaluation of tourism development by local and regional governments, and the strong position of major tour operators to control the consumption of tourism products and services as well the promotion and marketing of a destination. Tourism will continue to be an important source of employment and income. However, meeting the objectives of sustainable development is an impossible task, as becomes clear when its nature as a socio-economic activity is examined in detail. Fundamentally, the tourism sector is concerned with short-term financial considerations rather than long-term environmental and social sustainability objectives. Therefore, economic growth will always take precedence over the other two dimensions. Equilibrium between economic growth, social equity and environmental sustainability seems unrealistic and certainly unattainable. If the tourism sector cannot be persuaded that it is in their own interest interests to adhere to the principles of sustainability then the efforts of other stakeholders who are committed to developing tourism in a sustainable manner will have little effect. In addition, host communities need to be educated and made aware of the short-term and long-term effects of tourism so that they are able to make informed decisions regarding the development of tourism and are less-likely to choose the immediate economic benefits over long-term sustainability. Those living in poverty more often than not opt for immediate economic benefits over long-term sustainability regardless of the environmental consequences. Consequently, this encourages tourism to develop in such a way that concern for sustainability of the tourism product itself is paramount rather than achieving sustainable development through tourism, and, seriously reduces tourism's potential to generate broad based

growth as natural resources are often sold to people from outside the community, leading to a loss of control over resources.

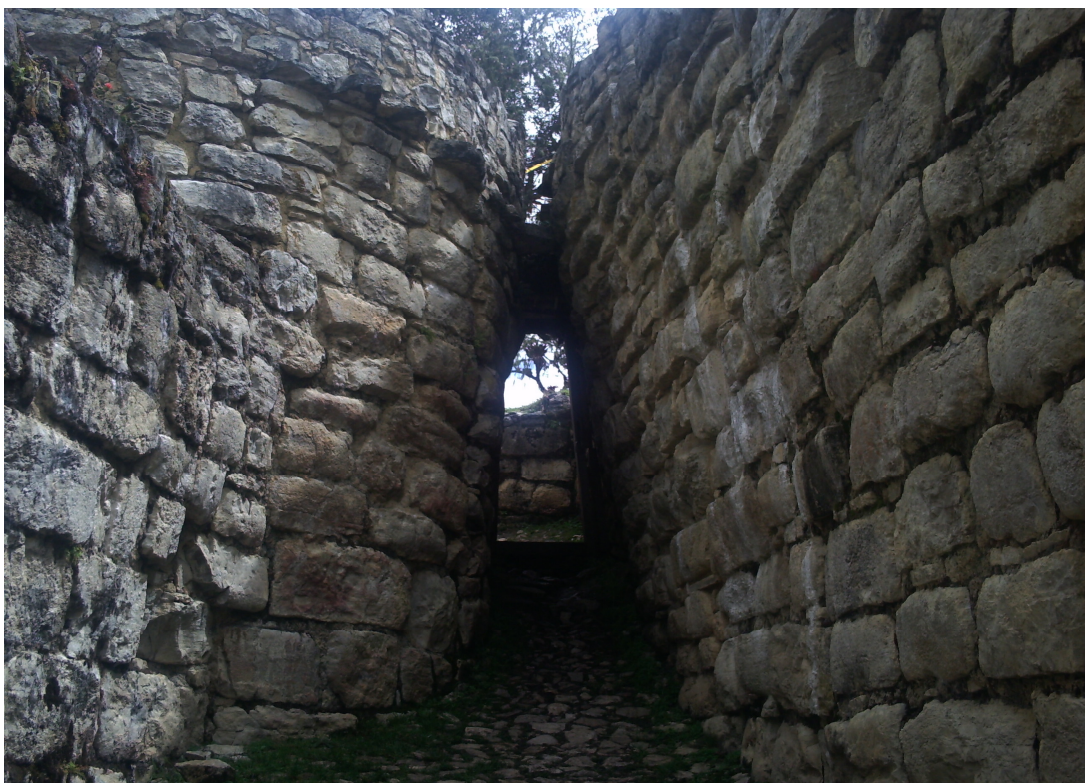
It is hoped that this conclusion will help draw a line under current thinking and enable development ideology to move beyond the existing rhetoric. There has to be an acceptance that there are certain aspects of tourism which work against sustainable development. Therefore, in order to optimise the benefits of tourism, an approach needs to be adopted which accepts and works within the constraints of the production and consumption of tourism. Ideally, further research would be based around the exploration of possible new strategies for tourism development. An important aspect of developing a new strategy would involve a thorough understanding of tourism consumption and the relationship between consumers, the environment and host communities.

Appendix One: Map of Peru



Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/peru_pol_06.jpg

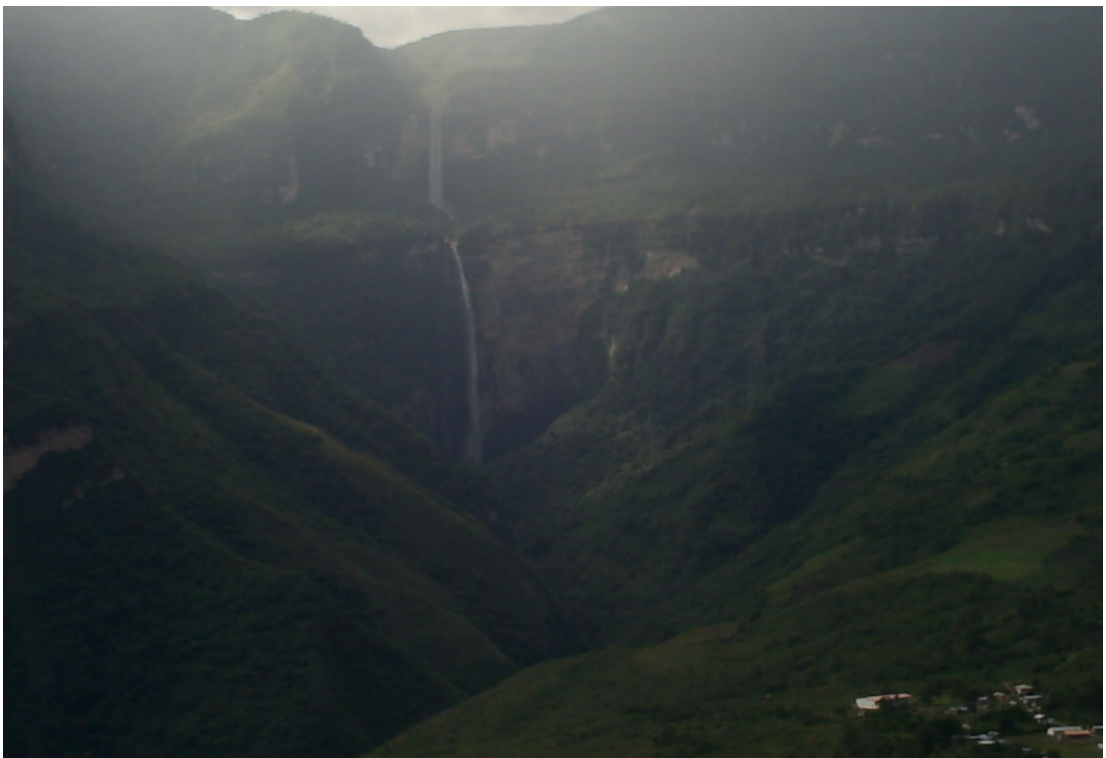
Appendix Two: Photographs of Kuélap



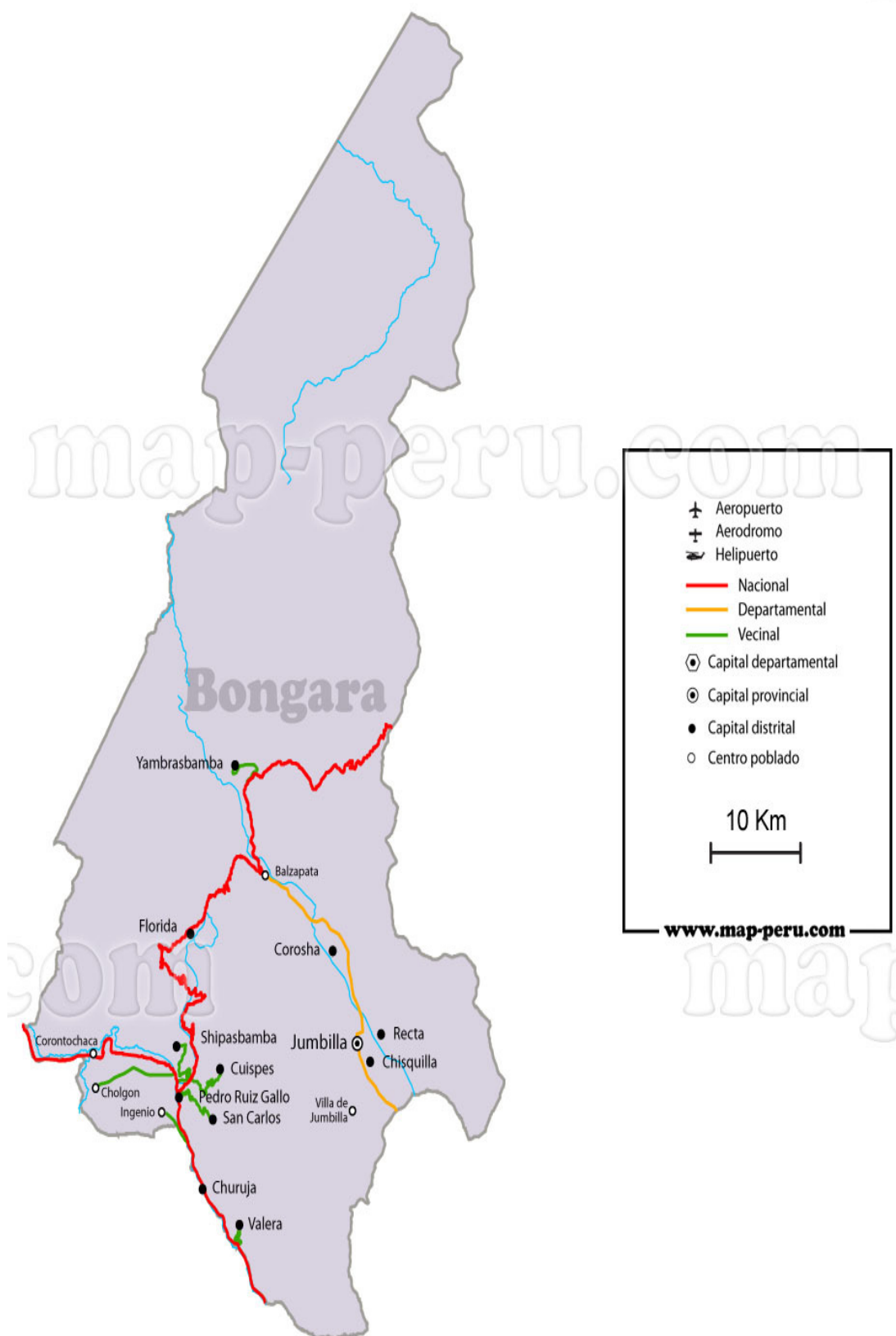
Appendix Three: Photographs of Karajía



Appendix Four: Photographs of Cocachimba

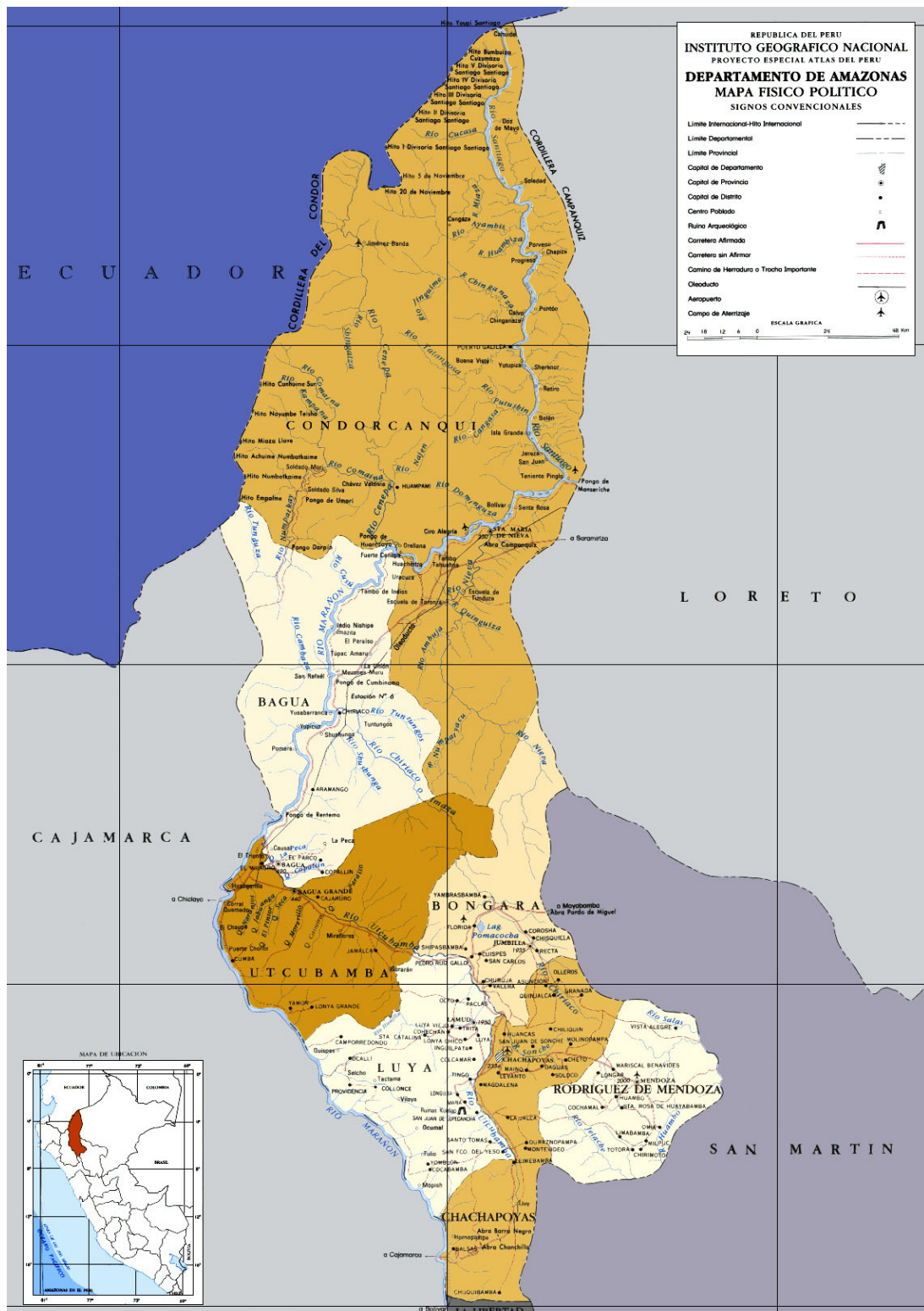


Appendix Five: Map of the Province of Bongará



Source: <http://www.map-peru.com/es/descargar/11826405397.jpg-mapas-Amazonas>

Appendix Six: Map of the Department of Amazonas



Source: <http://www.map-peru.com/es/descargar/5201579438026.jpg-mapas-Amazonas>

Appendix Seven: Photographs from the 2010 Tourism Fair





Appendix Eight: Photographs from Workshops





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NOTA DE PRENSA

La Tercera Catarata más Grande del Mundo está en Amazonas, este sensacional anuncio lo hizo el ciudadano alemán Stefan Ziemendorff (32) durante una conferencia de prensa realizada en la tarde de hoy en el auditorium del Palacio Municipal de Chachapoyas luego de realizar una serie de expediciones en el Distrito de San Pablo. Se trata de la Catarata llamada Gocta por los pobladores de la zona, que no figura con nombre en plano alguno y que hasta la fecha por su lejanía llamó muy poco la atención.

El alemán, que trabaja actualmente en un Proyecto con la Empresa de Agua Potable de Amazonas EMUSAP, se había percatado de la catarata en el 2002 al explorar unos sarcófagos ubicados al margen opuesto del inmenso valle Utcubamba en la Provincia de Luya-Lamud junto a su compañero Kai Kümme y desde este momento soñó con visitar esta catarata de dimensiones colosales. Posteriormente se realizaron dos expediciones lideradas por Ziemendorff, la chiclayana de origen amazonense Sheila Falen Alvarado (25) y guiados por Don Telésforo Santillán (60) del caserío Cocachimba llegando a calcular las medidas de la base de la Catarata y su altura aproximada.

Posteriormente los mismos expedicionarios, con el apoyo del Topógrafo de la Municipalidad Provincial de Chachapoyas, Carlos Santamaría Tejada y del Ingeniero civil Teony Alva Vives, lograron tomar las medidas exactas de esta catarata el día domingo 26 de febrero, determinando de esta manera su altura en 771 metros con un margen de error de 13.5 metros.

Tomando en cuenta que existen múltiples listados de las cataratas más altas del mundo elaborados a base de diferentes criterios se tomó como base el listado elaborado por la prestigiosa National Geographic Society, publicado el año 2005. Este listado determina que solo existen 2 cataratas más altas que Gocta. Estas son el Salto Ángel en Venezuela (972 metros), los Tugela Falls (Sudáfrica, 948 metros). Se trata entonces de la tercera catarata más alta del mundo. Quedando relegadas el Yosemite (EE.UU., 739 metros) al cuarto lugar, el Cuquenán (Venezuela, 610 metros) al quinto y Sutherland Falls (Nueva Zelanda, 579 metros) al sexto a nivel mundial.



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NOTA DE PRENSA

La catarata se ubica a 5 horas de caminata a través de un extenso valle de bosque de neblina virgen, desde el caserío de Cocachimba y en su entorno se pueden apreciar en todo su esplendor un total de 22 caídas de agua, algunas de una belleza impresionante, especialmente en épocas de lluvia. Es muy común también observar el gallito de las rocas, tucanes, monos, la pava parda y con menor frecuencia el colibrí maravilloso y el puma. A Cocachimba, que vive principalmente del cultivo de la caña de azúcar se llega mediante una trocha carrozable construida recién el año pasado en solo 1½ hora en auto desde Chachapoyas, pasando por los caseríos Cocahuayco y La Coca.

La rica tradición oral de la zona cuenta de un oso de anteojos arrastrado por el río y la leyenda contada Doña Maria Yalta Cachay esposa de Don Telésforo, según la cual en la catarata vive una sirena con pelo rubio, madre de los peces del río y que encanta a todos los incautos que se atreven a bañar en la poza para proteger el tesoro que yace en su fondo. Urge la promoción de este importante sitio turístico así como la creación de una infraestructura básica para la atención al turista como tambos, guías capacitados y medidas de protección de la naturaleza aún poco impactada por la actividad humana.

También participaron en una expedición los alemanes Axel Krause, Claudia y Mai Koch así como Katherine Balarezzo Chavez y la Arq. Elsa Campos Vega.

Todas fotos pueden ser publicadas indicando los créditos fotográficos (Stefan Ziemendorff).

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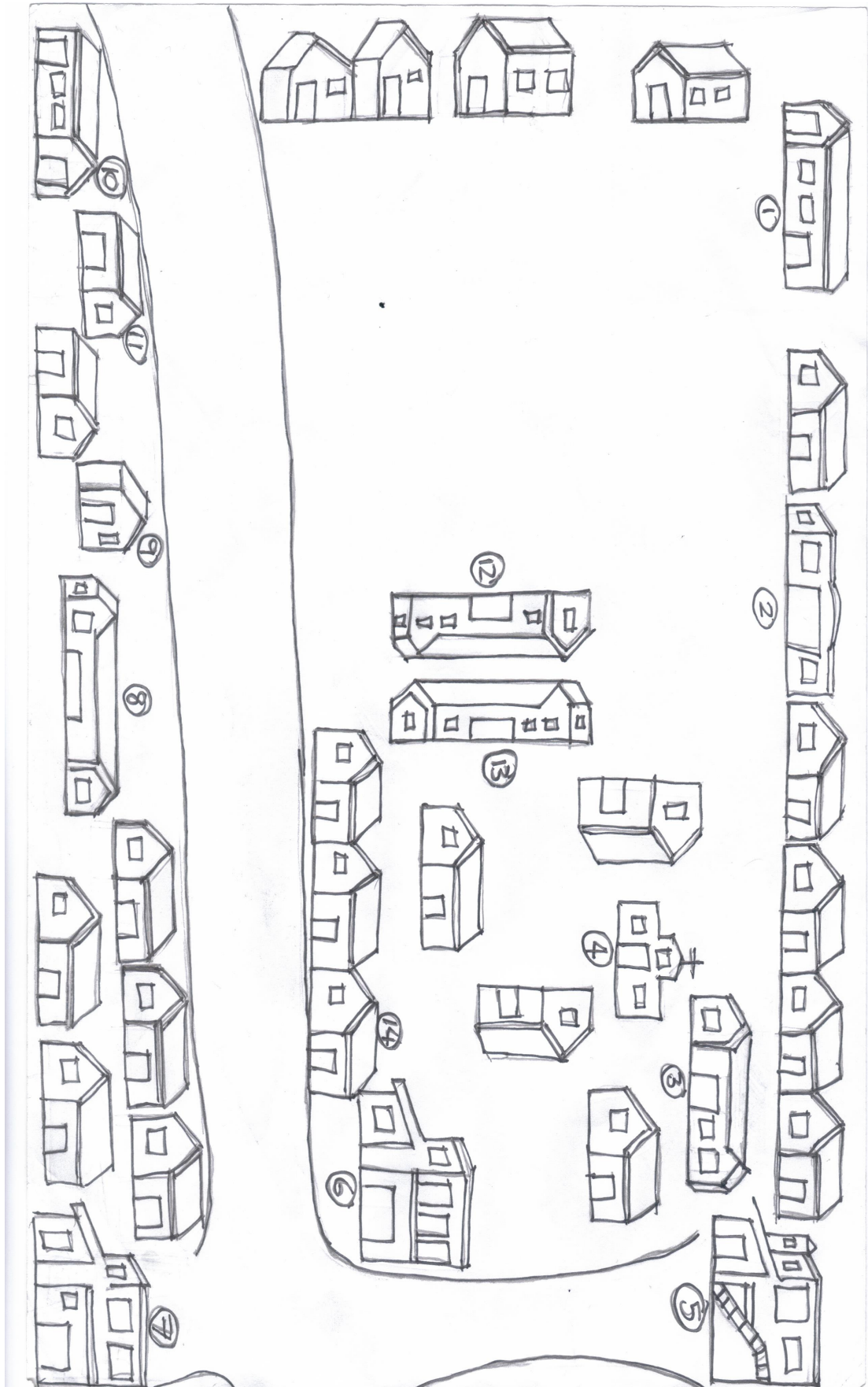
San Juan de la Frontera de los Chachapoyas, miércoles 01 de marzo de 2006

Source: The municipality of Chachapoyas

Appendix Ten: Photographs of a Local Hostel and Gocta Lodge







Appendix 12

Map Key

Number 1 – Shop

Number 2 – Restaurant

Number 3 – School

Number 4 – Church

Number 5 – Hotel/restaurant

Number 6 – Hostel/Restaurant

Number 7 – Hostel/Restaurant

Number 8 – Community Centre

Number 9 – Café

Number 10 – Kiosk

Number 11 – Nursery

Number 12 – Tourism Office

Number 13 – Medical Centre

Number 14 - Kiosk

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